Philips Galle (1537-1612): engraver and print publisher in Haarlem and Antwerp

Sellink, M.S.

1997

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(1537-1612)

ENGRAVER AND PRINT PUBLISHER IN HAARLEM AND ANTWERP

I

TEXT

VRIJE UNIVERSTEIT

Philips Galle (1537-1612): engraver and print publisher in Haarlem and Antwerp

ACADEMISCH PROEFSCHRIFT

ter verkrijging van de graad van doctor aan
de Vrije Universiteit te Amsterdam,
op gezag van de rector magnificus
prof.dr. T. Sminia,
in het openbaar te verdedigen
ter overstaan van de promotiecommissie
van de faculteit der letteren
op maandag 22 september 1997 om 15.45 uur
in het hoofdgebouw van de universiteit,
De Boelelaan 1105

door

Manfred Stefan Sellink

geboren te Nijmegen

Promotor: prof.dr. I.M.Veldman
Copromotor: prof.dr. P.A. Hecht

De kwaliteitsbeoordeling van dit proefschrift door prof.dr. C.L. Heesakkers, verbonden aan de Universiteit van Amsterdam en de Rijksuniversiteit Leiden, en dr. J.P. Filedt Kok, verbonden aan het Rijksmuseum, wordt onder dankzegging vermeld.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The present study of Philips Galle is, in fact, a result of an internship in the Rijksprentenkabinet in the Rijksmuseum in 1985. In this period I received my first real training in the study of prints in general and the study of Netherlandish sixteenth-century printmaking in particular. At the risk of neglecting others who were no less important in the genesis of my dissertation, I would, therefore, like to dedicate this study to my then tutor at the Rijksprentenkabinet Jan Piet Filedt Kok, now secondary reader of this thesis. His critical, but always concerned guidance throughout my career as a student in art history and a museum curator has been indispensable. His vast knowledge of Dutch printmaking has always been (and will always be) the criterion of the contents of my own studies in this field.

The same goes for the main supervisor of my thesis, Ilja Veldman. Besides her unchallenged understanding of printmaking in Haarlem and Antwerp, her wisdom and humour have been quintessential during the entire process of research and writing. I also warmly thank my second supervisor Peter Hecht, not only for his stubborn belief in my scholarly capacities, but even more for all his friendship and generous support during the last twelve years. From 1988 to 1990, Eddy de Jongh was the supervisor of my thesis. Due to his departure from the University of Utrecht, I was unable to finish my dissertation under his guidance. I must also thank my secondary reader Chris Heesakkers, who so kindly shared his profound insight in the world of sixteenth-century humanism and helped me with the translations of many Latin inscriptions. As an acknowledged specialist of Dutch portraits, Rudi Ekkart was so kind as to read chapter 2 and provide me with valuable additional information on the subject of portraits of scholars.

The first part of the research (1988-90), including many travels through European printrooms and libraries, was largely made possible by a grant from the Netherlands Organization for Scientific Research (NWO). A generous second grant by NWO in the years 1995/96 made it possible to leave the Boijmans Van Beuningen Museum for more than a year in order to finish my dissertation. I cordially thank NWO for this support, and I can only hope that the quality of the results lives up to the expectations of its board of governors. I also hope that Wim Crouwel, Johan ter Molen and Chris Dercon, the three consecutive directors of the Boijmans Van Beuningen Museum will find some remuneration for the museum's generous (financial and organizational) support since 1991. I am also grateful to my colleagues in the printroom, who, during the last two years, have so often ungrudgingly taken over duties I was originally to perform. A special word of thanks is offered to Marguerite Tuijn and Maartje de Haan, who replaced me during my absence from the Museum.

During the period of my research, numerous colleagues provided me with valuable information and useful references. Without mentioning all their names, I express my gratitude to all those who showed interest in the subject of Philips Galle over the years. The same goes for the staff of the print and rare book departments of many institutions in Europe and the United States. Especially helpful were the staff of: the Rijksprentenkabinet and the library of the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam; the Stedelijk Prentenkabinet and the archives of the Museum Plantin Moretus in Antwerp; the rare book department and the printroom of the Koninklijke Bibliotheek Albert I in Brussels; the print-

room of the Veste Coburg in Coburg; the printroom of the Statens Museum for Kunst in Copenhagen; the Kupferstichkabinett der Staatliche Graphische Sammlungen in Dresden; the printroom and library of the Monasterio de el Escorial; the Koninklijke Bibliotheek in The Hague; the department of prints and drawings in The British Museum in London; the department of prints and drawings of The Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York; the print department of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris; the Universiteitsbibliotheek of the Utrecht University; the Graphische Sammlung Albertina and the Österreichisches Nationalbibliothek in Vienna.

I can not omit a special word of thanks to Chris Schuckman and my Antwerp colleagues Karen Bowen and Dirk Imhof. They have most generously shared their knowledge on many subjects and have on several occasions provided me with important unpublished findings. Jan Bloemendal was most helpful in translating (in Dutch) all verses underneath the portraits of scholars, catalogued in appendix 2E. These translations were to a large extent made possible by a grant from the Dutch Post-Graduate School for Art History, and they will be included (in English) in the revised edition of this study in 1998.

This 'commercial' edition will be published as a part of the series *Studies in Prints and Printmaking* by Sound & Vision Interactive in Rotterdam. I thank Ger Luijten, both as a colleague in the Rijksprentenkabinet and as an advisor to the publishers, for his sincere interest in my research over the years. I also thank Aad Hofman and Frits Garritsen of Sound & Vision Interactive for their assistance in the production of my dissertation and for their trust in my future publications on their behalf. Without the generous support of Dingenus van de Vrie, this study would have not been produced in its present form. As in the case of most catalogues made by my department in the museum, he was responsible for the handsome layout.

Finally, I want to thank my family and all my friends for their sympathy, encouragement and patience all along my research. Their interest and countenance has been invaluable, especially in the last two years. I hope my friends will not take it amiss, when I only mention the names of my two 'paranimfen' Erik Hinterding and Jan Konst. In 1981 we set out to study art history at Utrecht University together. Although the path of life has led us to quite different destinations, the friendship and mutual interest in each other's research have remained. For this, I thank them both.

But, above all, I want to thank Carmen, Folkert - who often piled up his toys against the door of my study, waiting (in vain) for me to play with him - and Tirza, who was born during the last stage of my research and has as yet not known me without Galle. Without their love, understanding and moral support, this study of Philips Galle could not have been written.

Gouda,
July 2, 1997

INTRODUCTION

With a list of well over 2.500 prints that he published between 1563 and 1606 - not counting different states and editions - Philips Galle (Haarlem 1537 - Antwerp 1612) was certainly one of the most prolific print publishers in Europe in the second half of the sixteenth century. His achievement is even more impressive, if one considers that Galle virtually never reissued existing copperplates. On the contrary, the self-assured engraver and publisher cherished his independence and tried to remain in control over all the work his studio produced. But it is not only the quantity of his production which is so amazing, for the variety of subjects that Galle had engraved was sheer endless as well - both in Haarlem between 1563 and 1570 and in Antwerp until his retirement from the family workshop after the turn of the century.

Although the study of the business of prints and printmaking in the Netherlands has gained considerably since Timothy Riggs finished his pioneering dissertation on the Antwerp print publisher Hieronymus Cock in 1571, the *oeuvre* of Philips Galle had hardly been studied when I first started to do some research on the Galle workshop in 1985.[1] In fact, even though Galle was generally considered to be one of the most productive and influential printmakers of his time, the only extensive biography of Philips Galle available at the time was the study by Van den Bemden of 1863![2] As the catalogue of his prints in the Hollstein series was notoriously inaccurate, it was not clear how many prints Galle had published nor what was typical of his list of publications. In short, the decision to take on the challenge of providing the clearly felt *desideratum* of a comprehensive study of Philips Galle as a print publisher was far more ruthless than I had foreseen.[3]

After the first two years of research it became apparent that the original four goals of my project - a proper biography, a study of the works Galle engraved and published (including a checklist of his works), an assessment of the production methods of the workshop and its collaborators, including archival research in the Plantin archives, and, finally, an iconographic analysis of the changes in Galle's repertoire, seen in the light of the Counter-Reformation in Antwerp - were far too ambitious to be realized by one person in a limited period of time. Having been appointed as a curator of prints and drawings in the Boijmans Van Beuningen Museum in 1991, other tasks claimed most of my time, and a period of enforced reflection upon the structure of my dissertation brought about several necessary limitations in its aims.

In the first place, the biography of Philips Galle was to be mainly based on secondary sources in combination with evidence that could be gleaned from examination of his prints. New archival research in Antwerp and Haarlem was not undertaken, because a reasonable number of existing publications provided most of the information one could have expected to find.[4] Furthermore, the huge amount of archival documentation regarding the relation between the Galle workshop and the Plantin Press was to be the subject of a future study. Several useful parts of this have already been published, while most of the unpublished part relates to Galle's son Theodoor and his grandson Johannes.[5] In the third place, the stylistic characteristics of the prints of Philips Galle, his pupils and collaborators over a period spanning four decades, were not to be emphasized in detail, albeit general remarks are made in passing.[6]

The most important restriction, however, was not to include a checklist of all the works published by Galle. Even if one does not apply the recent 'Hollstein' standards in cataloguing, the making of such a list would have taken up so much time, that it would have left little room for an intrinsic analysis of the prints themselves. Besides, through courtesy of the publishers of the Hollstein series, it had already been decided that I would be the editor of the 'New Hollstein' volumes on Philips Galle.[7] To avoid any possible criticism on references to unrecorded prints in this study, I have added substantial appendices to the chapters 2 and 3, listing at least the most frequently cited (series of) prints. In the other two chapters undescribed (single) prints are documented in the notes.

This revision of my initial plans led to a study that concentrates on two aspects. The first aim now was to provide a study of the organisation on the workshop: what was published, to what extent was Galle himself involved, who were his collaborators, what were the methods of production and distribution and, even more difficult to answer, for whom were the prints intended. The second, far more ambitious goal was to make a detailed iconographic analysis of a representative part of the output of the Galle workshop and to relate it to the turbulent religious and political events in the Netherlands in the last decades of the sixteenth century. That there was a change in the contents of Galle's prints over the years, will not come as a surprise to anyone even faintly familiar with Antwerp printmaking. But to what extent and at what pace Philips Galle adapted his subjects to such factors as the demand of the public and the (most often implicit) expectations of the secular and religious authorities, has not been studied at all.

It is, in my opinion, very clear that Galle, like so many other print and book publishers, was an essentially commercial publisher, who managed to survive by adapting the iconography of his subjects to the needs of his time. The bitter reproach by a former friend that Galle betrayed his principles of faith "in order not to loose sight of the fleshpots of Egypt and leave the beautiful city of Antwerp," may well have been tainted by Calvinist resentment towards someone who stayed within the Roman Church.[8] But this not entirely unjustified reproach exemplifies the difficult choice any print publisher at the end of the sixteenth century would have had to make. If, in the end, the present study succeeds in showing how an ambitious printmaker was able to see his workshop through the hardships and circumstances of his time, while building up one of the most prestigious and influential lists of publications ever, I have accomplished my goal.

Chapter 1

"Philips Galle from Haarlem, most excellent engraver"*

A historiographical review

In his own days, Philips Galle (*fig. 1*) was recognized to be an engraver and print publisher of considerable importance. The first printed record of Galle is to be found in two famous Italian sources: Lodovico Guicciardini's *Descrittione di tutti i paesi bassi* of 1567 and the second, revised edition of Giorgio Vasari's *Vite*, published in 1568. In his historical, sociological and geographical description of the Low Countries, the Florentine diplomat Guicciardini only briefly mentions some of the most well-known painters, architects and printmakers, amongst them "Dirck Volckertsz. Coornhert and Philips Galle from Haarlem, most excellent engravers."[1] One year later Vasari, in his short appendix on Netherlandish artists, repeats the words of his townsman and adds Galle, together with Coornhert and Lucas van Leyden, to the select list of engravers worth mentioning.[2] In 1584 it is yet again a Florentine author who writes some notes on the Antwerp engraver. In his biography of Johannes Stradanus, Raffaello Borghini describes six albums of drawings by this Flemish/Florentine painter "all of them engraved in Antwerp by the hand of Philips Galle, excellent engraver." What makes Borghini's remarks especially interesting is the rather extensive list of preparatory drawings for prints by Stradanus, providing us with a date *ante quem* for several undated series of prints.[3]

In Dutch texts of the sixteenth and seventeenth century Coornhert and Galle are traditionally listed together as the master (Coornhert) who is exceeded by his pupil (Galle). The source of this statement is the elaborate praise of the two artists by one of their mutual friends and collaborators, the Haarlem humanist and physician Hadrianus Junius. In his *Batavia* - a Latin history of Holland commissioned by the States of Holland, written between 1565 and 1570 and published posthumously in 1588 - Junius writes the following eulogy on the engravers: "There remain two shining lights of the art, not of pen-and-ink, as some aver, but of rendering on plates of copper, or any other material, every variety of scene and history in mirror image with the [etching] point or the burin. The scenes are reproduced by coating the plates with black ink, or with ink of some other colour, and printing them in reverse on chalk-covered plates or paper. These [luminaries] are Dirck Volckertsz. Coornhert of Amsterdam, a man of divine gifts with a tragic lot, and Philips Galle of Haarlem. How much, by the immortal gods, he [Galle] excels the aforementioned master: except that the former [Coornhert] has ceased practising this art which he took up in a praiseworthy manner. As Galle advances in years so the fame of his art grows."[4]

In his historical description of the city of Haarlem, Samuel Ampzing in 1628 quotes Junius's Latin text, paraphrasing it in Dutch on behalf of his readers and adding some lines of verse of his own: "I also have to speak of Coornhert, and Galle even more. Especially

Galle - celebrated for his portraits of learned men - may not be left out, as his [use of the] burin was perfect, and his prints are worth mentioning."[5] In another history of the city on the Spaarne, published twenty years later, Theodoor Schrevelius echoes the words of his predecessors and again emphasizes how Galle supersedes his former master in the art of engraving.[6] Far more neutral is Jacob Pontanus in his history of Amsterdam, published in 1614. Only interested in Coornhert, as he was born in Amsterdam, Pontanus only mentions that at a certain point he stopped working as an engraver: "..... Coornhert was called to weightier matters, and at an early date he forsook the art which he had commenced upon so laudably and allowed his disciples, amongst them Philips Galle, to practise it."[7]

In his *Schilder-Boeck* of 1604, Karel van Mander has not specifically added printmakers to his biographies of Netherlandish artists. Only the true *peintre-graveurs* - such as Goltzius, Lucas van Leyden, Jacques de Gheyn - are included, while most engravers and print publishers are only mentioned in passing. Philips Galle is just briefly cited in the biographies of Hans Vredeman de Vries and Stradanus as publisher of works after their designs, and in the life of Hendrick Goltzius as his employer in Haarlem around 1578.[8] Apparently Jacobus de Jongh - when preparing his revised and enlarged edition of Van Mander's lives in the second half of the eighteenth century - found this rather inadequate. In the biography of Vredeman de Vries he added the following note: "This Philips Galle was a citizen of Haarlem, a skilful engraver and a pupil of Dirck Volckertsz. Coornhert. He incised his copperplates far more precise, smooth and refined - as the ignorant describe it - but regarding the beauty of the outlines and the vivid quality in rendering works of art, he could not compete at all with Coornhert. He has, however, been a great artist and he has engraved much after designs by Heemskerck, as well as after those by Bruegel, Melchior Lorck and others. He has also published the counts of Holland, as well as numerous other engravings, too many to list here."[9] De Jongh - who interestingly enough reversed the traditional opinion on the respective qualities of Galle and Coornhert - even added an etched portrait of the Antwerp printmaker, clearly copied after Goltzius's engraving of 1582 (*fig. 2*).[10]

In the Northern Netherlands, Philips Galle was evidently associated with his home town Haarlem and with his master Coornhert, while his Antwerp production was not mentioned at all. It will not come as a surprise that his reputation took an entirely different course in Flanders in the seventeenth century. In 1611, Petrus van Opmeer's world history was published posthumously in Louvain. This Catholic theologian and historian of Delft origin - who had possibly been acquainted with Galle in Haarlem - singles out Galle, together with two of the Wierix brothers, as one of the very few printmakers in Flanders worth mentioning by name. Perhaps due to the fact that Van Opmeer's book was completed and edited by two of Galle's humanist friends in Antwerp, even a woodcut portrait of the engraver was added.[11] Two years later, only one year after his death in 1612, Galle was honoured by another of his Antwerp acquaintances in a rather different way. In his collection of noteworthy epitaphs in the Southern Netherlands, Franciscus Sweerts also included the inscription on the grave of his friend, who was buried in front of the chapel of St. Luke in the Antwerp cathedral.[12]

At other occasions, Galle was again commemorated in publications by calling attention to the elaborate series of prints and illustrated books he had issued in Antwerp.[13] This was to be the tenor of Flemish publications in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In 1628 it was, for instance, the above-mentioned Franciscus Sweerts who listed Galle among his survey of authors, poets and (book)publishers in Flanders and Brabant.[14] Much more than an engraver, Philips Galle was now commemorated as a noteworthy contributor to the Flemish *respublica literaria*. This can be exemplified by means of Jean François Foppens's overview of all books written by Dutch and Flemish authors throughout the ages. Published in 1739, this bio-bibliographical study was to remain a standard reference book for more than a century. Once again, one can find Galle's career summarized as a prolific author - several books were considered to be of his hand - and publisher, rather than as a noteworthy printmaker. No works of his early Haarlem period nor any individual engravings are mentioned at all.[15]

Galle's dwindling reputation as an engraver in the seventeenth century is exemplified by Cornelis de Bie's *Gulden Cabinet*, a collection of laudatory poems on artists published in Antwerp in 1662. While his sons Theodoor (*fig. 3*)[16] and Cornelis, his grandson Cornelis the Younger, his master Coornhert and a number of his pupils - such as Karel de Mallery and Jean Baptiste Barbé - were eulogized, Philips Galle himself was not mentioned at all, not even in the verses devoted to his sons and grandson.[17] The same applies by and large to literature published in the rest of Europe. In his rather arbitrary account of important printmakers the Englishman John Evelyn in 1662, for example, only briefly names the Antwerp publisher in relation to the early prints made by Goltzius.[18] The same goes for the much better-informed Florentine historian Filippo Baldinucci, who in 1686 - more or less translating Goltzius's earlier biography by Karel van Mander in Italian - only informs his readers on the fact that Galle and Coornhert employed the young artist in the period directly after his arrival in Haarlem.[19] At the very end of the seventeenth century, the French author Florent Le Comte also names Galle in his account of Goltzius's life and work, besides briefly mentioning the Antwerp engraver - together with his sons Theodoor and Cornelis - in a survey of Dutch and Flemish printmaking.[20]

This state of affairs seems to coincide with a growing lack of interest - with the exception of Goltzius - in Netherlandish 'reproductive' prints of the late sixteenth century. Until the third quarter of the seventeenth century prints by Philips Galle and others were republished frequently by publishers like Claes Jansz. Visscher in Amsterdam and Galle's grandson Johannes in Antwerp. After the latter's death in 1676 - leaving behind no less than 82.000 prints and copperplates in his workshop - the once so precious plates had apparently lost much of their commercial value. Significantly less reissues are known after this date.[21] What happened to the plates from the Galle workshop is unknown, they were probably sold to printmakers to be reused for other prints or even to painters who preferred to paint on copper.[22] An interesting case in point, clearly demonstrating the loss of value of engraved copperplates from the late sixteenth century, is an otherwise insignificant painting by the Antwerp painter Jan Frans van Bredael, active in the first half of the eighteenth century. Bredael's army camp is painted on the verso of a copperplate engraved by Philips

Galle, *Christ and the Samaritan woman at the well* after Anthonie van Blocklandt.[23]

In the eighteenth century the *fortuna critica* of Galle suffered even more. Although in some publications on the history of the book - like Foppens's above-mentioned historical survey - Philips Galle was brought to the fore as one of the prominent print publishers of his age in Flanders, his name only featured as a footnote in most publications focused on art. Even in books largely devoted to prints and printmakers - such as those written by dealers and connoisseurs like Michel de Marolles, Pierre-Jean Mariette and Pierre François Basan - Galle's name, if it is mentioned at all, is only referred to in passing in biographies of others.[24] In this respect, it is a sad loss that only the first four volumes (up to 'Diziani') of Carl Heinrich von Heinecken's encyclopedic dictionary of printmakers were published at the end of the eighteenth century and that the long existent 30-volume manuscript for the complete series was lost at the end of the Second World War. Heinecken - director of the royal printroom at the Dresden court - was an avid collector of Netherlandish prints and would doubtlessly have payed more attention to Philips Galle than all of his above-mentioned predecessors.[25]

Of yet another unpublished manuscript from the second half of the eighteenth century it is indeed known that the author did his very best to compile the first elaborate biography of Philips Galle.[26] In Antwerp in 1771 a prospectus was published, announcing the forthcoming publication of Jacob van den Sanden's *Oud konst-tooneel van Antwerpen*. By means of this pamphlet Van den Sanden (in vain) hoped to raise enough subscribers to finance the publication of his history of Antwerp art. Although unsuccessful, the manuscript provides us with the first attempt to combine the 'Haarlem' and the 'Antwerp' Galle in one single biography.[27] Quoting Guicciardini, Le Comte, Descamps and referring to the Antwerp guild records, Van den Sanden, however, comes to the conclusion that in 1566 Guicciardini must either erred in mentioning Galle in Haarlem or that there must have been two artists with the same name.[28] As Jacob van den Sanden was mainly interested in reconstructing historical data, his remarks - besides some general praise - do not give us any further insight in the appraisal of Galle's prints in Antwerp at the time.[29]

Besides the declining appreciation of Netherlandish mannerist prints in general, the fortunes of Galle's prints suffered from yet another development starting at the end of the eighteenth century. Sanctified by the publication of Adam von Bartsch's monumental series *Le peintre-graveur*, what is now generally known by the misleading term 'reproductive engraving' became to be considered as more or less second-rate graphic art.[30] As a result hardly any significant literature on Philips Galle as a printmaker appeared in the end of the eighteenth century or the first half of the nineteenth century.[31]

Around 1850, especially Flemish historians became more and more interested in the history of the city of Antwerp in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Besides the traditional triad of Rubens, Jordaens and Van Dyck, the production of the Plantin Press and its scholarly circles was now considered as one the intellectual and cultural highlights from the history of Antwerp. As a result, interest in printmaking in the same period also increased. Between 1850 and 1860 no less than four detailed studies on Galle appeared, marking an era of renewed interest in the Antwerp engraver of Haarlem origin.[32] Taking these four and

all subsequent modern studies into account, it is time to take a closer look at the biography of Philips Galle himself.

Philips Galle: the printmaker and his workshop; Haarlem 1557-1570

Philips Galle was born in Haarlem in 1537.[33] Although no archival documents have come to light (yet) that substantiate this date, there seems to be no reason to doubt this year of birth. The date can be deduced from both the commemorative inscription on the reissue of Goltzius's portrait at the time of Galle's death in 1612, as well as from the (lost) epitaph on his tombstone in the Antwerp cathedral.[34] He was the fourth son from the marriage between Barbara van den Poorten and Roelant Galle, a descendant of an old and noble Flemish family who had apparently settled in Haarlem at an unknown date. Both the lineage of his own family, as well as that of his wife Catharina van Rollant - a daughter of a Haarlem alderman and burgomaster to whom he married in 1569 - indicate that Philips Galle was raised in the upper circles of Haarlem society.[35] One can assume that he attended the local Latin grammar school for at least several years. Judging by the many signed introductions to series of prints he was later to publish, Galle seems to have had a reasonable command of Latin as well as French.[36]

Nothing at all is known with certainty about the artistic training of Philips Galle. He most probably was tutored in the art of engraving by the versatile notary, philosopher, playwright and printmaker Dirck Volckertsz. Coornhert, the only professional engraver in Haarlem at the time.[37] In 1557 Galle's first signed engraving was published by the Antwerp print publisher Hieronymus Cock. This *Apollo and Artemis killing Niobe's children* (*fig. 4*) after Giulio Romano demonstrates that Galle was a skilled engraver, combining Coornhert's manner of engraving with the more fluent style and technique of Italian engravers such as Luca Penni.[38] It must have been Coornhert who introduced his pupil to *Aux quatre vents*, as the workshop of Hieronymus Cock was called. As the elder printmaker gradually stopped engraving and concentrated on his official duties in Haarlem, he seems to have urged the young Galle to follow in his footsteps as engraver working on behalf of Cock, by far the most important print publisher in the Low Countries.[39]

Like his former master, Galle lived in Haarlem while engraving works on behalf of the famous Antwerp print-shop.[40] Besides reproducing several Italian prototypes (*fig. 5*), he mainly incised (religious and profane) compositions after contemporary Netherlandish masters as Pieter Bruegel (*fig. 6*), Frans Floris (*fig. 7*) and, above all, Maarten van Heemskerck.[41] In fact, one can safely assume that Hieronymus Cock must have been interested in obtaining the services of Philips Galle especially on account of his acquaintance with his fellow townsman Heemskerck. Like Coornhert before him, Galle became Cock's prime engraver of inventions drawn by this productive Haarlem painter, mainly religious subjects taken from the Old Testament (*fig. 8*).[42] Besides the technical virtuosity of his engravings - characterized by finely hatched strokes of the burin and a great subtlety in textural imitation and chiaroscuro effects - Galle's prints show a remarkable ability in adapting style and tech-

nique to match drawings by very different inventors.

In contrast to what is generally assumed, Philips Galle did not only work on behalf of Hieronymus Cock before 1563, the year in which he set up his own print-shop. Some of his works were issued by the little-known Antwerp print publisher Martin Peeters, such as the undated *Head of a reveller* (*fig. 9*) - a peculiar print (after Bruegel?) that in its genre-like subject is highly exceptional in Galle's *oeuvre*[43] - a series of eight illustrious women from the Bible, engraved around 1560 after designs by Maarten van Heemskerck, and the monumental two-sheet print *Tabula cebetis*, published in 1561 after a composition by Frans Floris (*fig. 10*).[44] Together with several prints after Bruegel, this intricate subject - a didactic image inspired by a philosophical treatise of classical origin, illustrating the ideal path of life eventually leading to the state of ethical perfection - seems to foreshadow Galle's own preoccupation with publishing moralizing series of prints.[45] Furthermore, the engraving demonstrates that from the very beginning of his career Philips Galle had several contacts in Antwerp besides Hieronymus Cock.

There is another interesting 'document' that also clearly shows that the Haarlem printmaker had acquaintances in Southern Netherlandish humanist circles as early as 1560. In the second half of the sixteenth century an ancient dolmen, just outside the city of Poitiers in Central France, used to be frequented by Netherlandish travellers, scratching their names and the date on the stone to immortalize their visit.[46] Although weathering has since long erased all these inscriptions, an engraving by Georg Braun testifies to the fact that in 1560 Philips Galle visited this *pierre levée* in the company of the scholarly cartographers Gerard Mercator and Abraham Ortels, as well as the engraver and map publisher Frans Hogenberg.[47] All three were later to feature in Galle's career as a print publisher in one way or another.[48]

Judging by the date on his last known engraving with the address of Hieronymus Cock - a composition after Frans Floris (*see fig. 7*) - Philips Galle seems to have concentrated on setting up his own business as a print publisher from 1563 onwards. From this year, Galle began printing and publishing his own engravings in Haarlem. It was probably an unlicensed, semi-legal print-shop. There are, at least, no known archival documents referring to this enterprise. Furthermore, with one single exception his publications never include a privilege, nor, as a matter of fact, do these prints show an unambiguous address of its publisher. Most prints only include the words "P Galle fecit" ("engraved by .....), and not the more formal addition "et excudebat" (and published by .....).[49] The nature of the prints Galle produced in Haarlem from 1563 to 1570, amply discussed in chapter 4, is uniform: profoundly religious subjects, rendered as series of moralizing prints and intended as ethical lessons and instructive examples for man's conduct in daily life (*fig. 11*).[50] Only a few print series in this period are entirely profane of character, such as his portraits of scholars, a series of counts of Holland and Zeeland and some smaller series with subjects like the four elements or the four seasons (*fig. 12*).[51]

In his choice of collaborators, the young printmaker was now completely focused on his intellectual surroundings in Haarlem. Prints were engraved either after his own designs or after those of his much older colleague Maarten van Heemskerck.[52] In nearly all

cases, the Latin verses engraved in the margins - in general rather descriptive of character- were written by the scholarly physician Hadrianus Junius.[53] But above all, the influence of Coornhert's opinions on moral and ethics are often discernible in the iconography of the prints Galle produced in Haarlem, emphasizing man's own moral responsibility to strive for salvation by performing good works and refraining from evil. It was an influence that was to remain prominent in most of the religious engravings he was to publish until circa 1580.[54]

Another conspicuous feature of the works Galle issued in Haarlem - and something that was to remain a trademark of the Galle workshop until the turn of the century - are the many iconographic innovations and novelties of its subjects. Even more than the engravings after compositions by Heemskerck, Galle's own inventions regularly either introduce a subject in Netherlandish art, or include iconographic peculiarities that add new layers of interpretation to existing traditions.[55] A prototypic case in point is the series *Misery of human life*. This remarkable series of six engravings is devoted to the unlucky fate of the human race and is most unusual in its pessimism, its lack of any reference to the (religious) hope of salvation and in its unflattering comparison between the inbred misfortune of mankind versus the natural state of grace in the world of animals (*fig. 13*).[56] Such unusual and intricate subjects, in combination with his widespread contacts in the world of humanists and scholars, demonstrate that, from the very beginning of his career as an engraver and print publisher, Philips Galle can be considered as a *sculptor doctus*, an equivalent of the ideal of the learned painter.[57]

That the printmaker, although strongly focused on the intellectual environment in Haarlem, did not loose sight of his Antwerp connections is shown by a series of counts of Holland and Zeeland published in 1569 (*fig. 14*).[58] This series of six engravings is remarkable in several respects. In the first place, it is one of the very few prints Galle produced in Haarlem which bears his address. Furthermore, it is the only series made before his departure to Antwerp which includes an official privilege - a form of copyright from the secular authorities, in this case probably the States of Holland - as well as an *approbatio*, a permission to publish provided by ecclesiastical authorities.[59] This irrefutably proves that Philips Galle was still working in Haarlem in 1569, a fact that has occasionally been doubted.[60] More important, however, is yet another address on the first sheet of the series, which informs potential buyers that one can also acquire the prints in Antwerp at the print-shop of Gerard de Jode. This shows that Galle had commercial interests in the city on the Scheldt before he went to live there, and it also makes clear that he aimed at a wider market for his prints than his home town Haarlem.[61]

Antwerp 1570-1575

Either late in 1569, but more probably at an unknown date in 1570 Philips Galle left Haarlem to settle in Antwerp.[62] It is not very difficult to take a guess at some of the reasons that may have urged the printmaker to move his enterprise to Flanders. First of all, Antwerp was by far the most important centre for the printing and publishing of books

and prints in Northern Europe. Just as Christophe Plantin and his *Officina Plantiniana* had become the hallmark of the fame of the city in the field of printing books, Hieronymus Cock's *Aux quatre vents* had established the reputation of Antwerp as a flourishing centre of professional printmaking.[63] Furthermore, despite the first declines in the economic growth, the city on the Scheldt was prosperous and boasted a large and thriving community of artists of all sorts around 1570. Finally, particularly through the many contacts of Plantin with scholars throughout Europe, Antwerp was also a place where one could easily get in touch with leading scholars and humanists.[64] In short, there was an artistic and intellectual climate that could certainly appeal to an ambitious print publisher. In contrast, Haarlem - or the rest of Northern Netherlands, for that matter - had little to offer. Galle's friends and collaborators Maarten van Heemskerck and Hadrianus Junius were ageing and there were no indications at all that this situation would change for the better so quickly after the arrival of Hendrick Goltzius in 1577 and, slightly later, Karel van Mander. Furthermore, Galle could easily keep in contact with his Haarlem friends while working in Flanders, as is demonstrated by their continued cooperation after 1570.[65]

One wonders if Philips Galle's arrival in Antwerp in 1570 has any connection to the death of his former employer Hieronymus Cock in the very same year.[66] If, although this entirely in the realm of speculation, Galle knew that Cock was ill and dying, this could certainly have been yet another strong stimulus to settle down in Antwerp. Cock completely dominated the market for 'intellectual' prints. That is to say intricate, essentially humanist themes, often elucidated by means of verses in Latin, and obviously aiming at a relatively well-educated, international section of the market. Without any doubt Cock's death left a gap in the market for such prints that could hardly be filled by any of his Antwerp colleagues, who were either small-scale printmakers operating on a much lower professional level or engravers who apparently did not have the means to start a print-shop themselves. Galle was one of the very few printmakers who could take on the challenge of taking in the place of Hieronymus Cock's *Aux quatre vents*.

In any case, Philips Galle did not come to Antwerp against the wishes of his former employer and his wife Volcxken Diericx. When Galle's first son Theodoor was baptized in the Antwerp cathedral on 16 July 1571, Cock's widow was present as godmother to the newborn child.[67] That the friendship between the two continued for a long time to come, can also be deduced from the fact that Galle was appointed as executor to Diericx's estate after her death in 1600.[68] Galle did, however, not - as is regularly suggested in literature - actually take over the print-shop. There can be no doubt at all, that Volcxken Diericx herself took charge of the enterprise of her husband and, although on a far lower level of ambition than before, kept issuing and reissuing prints.[69] Only in a few cases did Galle actually reprint plates that had first been produced by Cock, most of them after Maarten van Heemskerck (*fig. 15*). In all these instances the plates did remain in possession of Diericx, strongly suggesting that other publishers could rent or 'lease' copperplates from the stock of *Aux quatre vents*.[70]

Once in Antwerp, Galle first address probably was a house called *Het Gulden Hert* (The Golden Deer) in the Lombardenvest, right opposite the house of his old friend

Abraham Ortels. Already in 1571, a print was published with the imprint "Antverpiae ad insigne cervi aurei in platea lombardica veteri" ("[Published] in Antwerp at the sign of The Golden Deer in the Lombardenvest"). As this engraving of Jacques Jonghelinck's infamous and ill-fated statue of the Duke of Alba is dated May 1571, it may very well have been the first engraving Philips Galle published in Antwerp. The name of his residence, which is nearly never mentioned on his prints, could, in fact, have been simply been added to notify the public of his new place of residence.[71] An imprint with this address is also found on the first plate of the *Story of Lot*, a series of engravings after Anthonie van Blocklandt which can not be dated later than 1572 (*fig. 16*).[72]

It is not surprising that Galle owned a house in the district around the Vrijdagmarkt, where Christophe Plantin's *Officina Plantiniana* was (and still is) located. In these quarters many painters, printers, engravers and publishers were living, thus providing a natural environment for Galle and his workshop.[73] At an unknown date after 1585 and before 1596, Galle moved from the Lombardenvest to the nearby Huidenvetterstraat, where he owned a house called *De Witte Lelie* (The White Lily). The family workshop was to remain there until 1676, passing down to Galle's eldest son Theodoor, and then to the latter's son Johannes.[74]

From the very beginning of his career in Antwerp Philips Galle was extremely productive. From the year 1571 only a few dated single prints are known, a small production that was probably due to the fact that the printmaker was still setting up his business in Antwerp. It was a calm before the storm. Between 1572 and 1575 Galle published an astonishing number of single prints, series of prints and illustrated books. A short chronological list - only mentioning the more important issues and leaving aside the many undated prints made in the same years - will give an impression of the quantity and variety of this production.

1572

Three series after Maarten van Heemskerck: *Reward of labour and diligence* (six plates, letterpress text), *Eight wonders of the world* (eight plates) and *The Lord's prayer* (eight plates); Janos Zsamboky's *Arcus aliquot triumphales*, an illustrated book of triumphal allegories on the victory over the Turks at Lepanto (16 plates, letterpress text); the second edition of his series of portraits of scholars (45 plates, letterpress text); and an illustrated book with portraits of popes (29 plates, letterpress text).[75]

1573

The first edition of *Deorum dearumque* (*fig. 17*), a collection of antique coins in possession of Abraham Ortels (55 plates, letterpress text) and the first editions of *Christi Jesu vitae speculum* (51 plates, letterpress text) and *Divinarum nuptiarum* (29 plates, letterpress text), two allegorical series made in collaboration with the Spanish humanist Benito Arias Montano.[76]

1574

Reissues of both *Christi Jesu vitae speculum* and *Divinarum nuptiarum*; the *Libellus varios regionem*

(*fig. 18*), a set of etched landscapes after Hans Bol (30 plates, letterpress introduction); a series of wells after Hans Vredeman de Vries (*fig. 19*; 24 plates, letterpress introduction); and a set of eight personifications attributed to Frans Floris and Maarten van Cleve alternately.[77]

1575

Acta apostolorum, the last series of engravings after Heemskerck (16 plates); a series of ten sibyls after Anthonie van Blocklandt; Arias Montano's *David, hoc est virtutis* (49 plates, letterpress text); and an emblem book by his former tutor Coornhert, *De rerum usu et abusu* (26 plates, letterpress text, produced jointly with Christophe Plantin).[78]

Looking at this production and all the collaborators involved (engravers, designers, authors, poets, letterpress printers), it is obvious that Galle's Antwerp print-shop was set up on a much larger scale than his previous business in Haarlem: new subjects, new engravers, new draughtsmen, new authors and so forth. This also implied a complete change in the production process of the workshop. In Haarlem, Philips Galle - with only one single exception - engraved all plates himself. The designs reproduced were either drawn by himself or by his friend Maarten van Heemskerck, in addition to a few prints after acquaintances from Antwerp (Bruegel and Floris), while in most cases the verses in the margins were composed by Hadrianus Junius. All in all, the Haarlem prints were made in collaboration with a small circle of friends.[79]

Even though, as said, Galle kept teaming up with his Haarlem friends until their respective deaths in 1574 (Heemskerck) and 1575 (Junius), most other things changed immediately after his arrival in Antwerp. It is clear that Philips Galle set up his new print-shop in Antwerp in an entirely new way. Using the model of his predecessor Cock and, above all, imitating the structure of the Plantin Press, Galle was able to transform his basically one-man business into a flourishing large-scale print-shop. Division of labour - an issue that has only rarely received attention in literature on Netherlandish printmaking - was evidently of great importance. It was only through structurally making use of specialized services of others, that Galle was able to produce such an astonishing number of prints, print series and illustrated books so shortly after settling down in Antwerp.[80]

Basically a publisher like Philips Galle - who aimed at the 'top' market sector of humanist prints - was in need of three kinds of labour: designing a composition, engraving the copperplate and writing verses or any other accompanying text. Apart from the print designs that Galle himself kept making during his entire career, most print designs before 1590 were made by artists who were not permanent members of his workshop. In some cases (Stradanus, Maarten de Vos) these designers were employed by the publisher over a long period of time, while others, like Gerard Groenning around 1575, worked for the Galle print-shop for one or two years. The draughtsmen of the preparatory drawings were, judging by comparable agreements made by the Plantin Press, most probably paid per piece. In contrast to what one would expect from a modern point of view, designers were paid significantly less than engravers. Even in the case of such a famous artist as Rubens

in the seventeenth century, this could even amount to a one to five ratio.[81]

As said, several 'new' draughtsmen were employed by Galle after his arrival in Antwerp: Anthonie van Blocklandt, Hans Bol, Marcus Gheeraerts, Gerard Groenning, Johannes Stradanus, Maarten de Vos and Hans Vredeman de Vries all started working on his behalf before 1575. Together with Philips Galle himself - who was even more productive as a designer than in his Haarlem period - many of these artists kept producing designs for prints for a long time to come.[82] Although no archival records of the Galle workshop have survived, it is seems rather certain that in most cases they were specifically commissioned by Galle to produce preparatory drawings of subjects as stipulated by the publisher. It hardly needs to be said that, with exception of such versatile artists as Stradanus, many designers involved must have been employed on account of their skills in particular genres. Thus we see Galle use, for example, designs related to architecture produced by Vredeman de Vries, religious and devotional compositions made by Maarten de Vos, and landscapes drawn by Hans Bol.

Besides these regular contributors, Galle occasionally published engravings after other artists as well. In contrast to the designs made by his 'regular' draughtsmen, such engravings seem to have been engraved after existing prototypes that Galle did not commission, but were obtained by chance. One such example is a print after a drawing made by the Danish painter, draughtsman, engraver and cartographer Melchior Lorck. During a long stay in Antwerp in the years 1573-74 - a trip made in order to do some work for the book publishers Gillis Coppens van Diest and Christophe Plantin - Lorck apparently befriended Philips Galle. The artistic result was the *Instability of Fortune*, an engraving of an allegorical subject incised and published by Galle in 1574 (*fig. 20*).[83] Another case in point is Galle's *Death of the Virgin* after Pieter Bruegel (*fig. 21*), also made in 1574. Although this artist had died in 1569, Galle engraved this composition - one of the best prints he ever made - on request of his friend Abraham Ortels. The Antwerp cartographer, who had been a close friend of the painter, owned Bruegel's original grisaille and wanted, according to the inscription in the margin, to have an engraving produced "on behalf of his friends and himself".[84] It is, in fact, known that Ortels did indeed send impressions of this print to such acquaintances as Coornhert and Benito Arias Montano.[85]

Besides designers, many new engravers were also employed. In the above list of publications, Galle at least made use of the services of Lucas and Johannes Doetecum, Gerard Groenning, Johannes Sadeler, Hieronymus Wierix and an anonymous etcher (possibly Pieter van der Borcht).[86] In the same period these engravers also worked for other publishers, strongly suggesting that they were only employed by Galle for specific commissions. With the exception of Hieronymus Wierix, this generation of engravers did not continue to work for the Galle workshop. From 1577/78 onwards, as will be discussed below, a new generation of engravers came to the fore. Apart from such qualified free-lance printmakers, there also must have been several apprentices working in the print-shop for a longer period of time. In 1574, for instance, a certain Henrick van Dort was registered by the guild of St. Luke as an apprentice in the Galle workshop; unfortunately nothing at all is known of his engravings.[87] There probably must have been more workshop assistants,

not only judging by the number of engravings Galle printed, but also going by remarks made in a letter by his friend Abraham Ortels.[88]

In contrast to designers of prints, the printmakers associated with the Galle workshop were, in general, not specialised in engraving one particular type of subject. The general division was one between etchers (the Doetecum brothers, Pieter van der Borcht) and copperplate engravers. In some cases Galle may, however, have made use of engravers who were truly specialised, such as engravers of calligraphic inscriptions added in the margins of prints. Between 1565 and 1583, for instance, the (map) engraver Cornelis de Hooghe - who is traditionally, without any factual evidence, assumed to have been a pupil of Philips Galle - also excelled as calligraphy engraver in Antwerp.[89] Though in the latter's case no relationship with the Galle workshop has been ascertained until now, there is little doubt that specialists were employed for such fine specimens of engraved texts as the address underneath *Lot meets the two angels at the gate of Sodom* (*fig. 16*), or, much later, Galle's 1591 publication of a completely engraved treatise concerning the quadrature of the circle (*figs. 53-54*).[90] Besides calligraphers, engravers of maps also tended to be more or less specialised. Galle did, as will be discussed below, publish several interesting maps and atlases (mainly after 1575), and this may have compelled him to occasionally make use of such map engravers as Lucas and Johannes Doetecum.

The hallmark of the prints engraved in the Galle studio was twofold. In the first place, the overall quality of the engravings was very high. Certainly in the period until 1585, Philips Galle was able to make use of a large generation of such talented printmakers as the Wierix brothers, the brothers(?) Adriaen and Johannes Collaert, his own sons Theodoor and Cornelis, Crispijn van der Passe, Gerard Groenning and Johannes Sadeler. This enabled the publisher to produce prints of a consistent quality, and also made him the only true heir of Hieronymus Cock's *Aux quatre vents*. In the second place, and this in stark contrast to the production of Cock's print-shop, Galle clearly aimed at publishing prints that were uniform in style and technique. As is to be expected, this efficiency and consistency has its side-effects: there are hardly any truly outstanding peaks among the engravings that were printed after 1570. This not only to be seen in his own engravings - that have lost most of the brilliance of the earlier prints after Bruegel and Floris - but also in the work of his employees. With the exception of Gerard Groenning, the best prints by Hieronymus Wierix and, around 1585, Crispijn de Passe it is often impossible to attribute an engraving to one particular printmaker, if no signature is added to the print.[91]

Soon after his arrival in Antwerp, to draw attention to yet another important group of collaborators, Philips Galle became acquainted with numerous humanists and scholars, most of them connected in one way or another to the *Officina Plantiniana*. Some have already been named above, such as the Hungarian historiographer Janos Zsamboky, whose *Arcus aliquot triumphales* Galle published in 1572.[92] Others were, for example, the Antwerp schoolmaster Pieter Heyns (who made French verses to accompany several of Galle's series of prints), the physician Victor Ghyselinck (author of several Latin verses in the margins of engravings) and Hugo Favolius, a Flemish humanist of Italian origin.[93] Galle must have met Favolius, for instance, when the latter, like Ghyselinck before him, worked as a freelance

proofreader for the Plantin Press in the years 1574-76. It can hardly be accidental that the first known verses from his hand are to be found on a series of eight personifications of professions, dated 1574 and engraved by Philips Galle after either Frans Floris or, more likely, Maarten van Cleve (*fig. 22*).[94]

But by far the most important scholar with whom the printmaker collaborated in the years 1571 to 1575, was the Spanish theologian Benito Arias Montano. While working in Antwerp as an editor and supervisor (on behalf of the Spanish Crown) of Plantin's *magnum opus*, the eight-volume *Biblia Polyglotta*, Arias Montano apparently became close friends with Galle. In only four years time, the two of them worked together on some of the most important and innovative series of prints published by the Galle workshop. Amongst them, Galle's second and perhaps most interesting series of portraits (1572), two intricate allegorical series focusing on Christ as mankind's spiritual guide (1573), an elaborate series illustrating the acts of King David and intended as a model for contemporary rulers (1575) and a series of sibyls, also issued in 1575. In most of these series, Arias Montano not only provided Galle with Latin verses to be engraved in the margins of the prints, but also seems to have been deeply involved as an intellectual advisor to the contents and iconography of the entire work. The nature of these works is, as will be discussed in chapter 4, profoundly religious and concentrate on the life and Passion of Jesus Christ as man's most important moral and spiritual guideline. The ethical contents are also most probably influenced by the so-called *Huis der Liefde* (*Family of Love*) - as the (forbidden) spiritual movement that was very popular in the humanist circle of friends around Plantin was called - and seem to reflect Galle's own religious beliefs.[95] In comparison to other Neo-Latin poets Galle employed, Arias Montano - who also sympathized with the *Family of Love* - was not just an author of verses available on demand, but evidently worked closely together with the printmaker in initiating and compiling the form and (iconographic) contents of entire series.

Besides the regular contributors (engravers, designers and authors) Galle needed to produce and publish his engravings, there were others with whom he collaborated more incidentally. In the case of illustrated books and series of prints with elaborate inscriptions, Galle, who apparently lacked a typographical letterpress, always employed other printers. In his early Antwerp period the printmaker collaborated with several printers, such as Anthonis Coppens van Diest, the widow Gerard Fabri and Gerard Smits.[96]

But it was, above all, Christophe Plantin with whom Philips Galle associated in the production of elaborate print series and illustrated books. From 1571 onwards, the latter's name was mentioned regularly in the daily records of the Plantin Press. From the very beginning, the business contacts between the two publishers concerned most varied matters.[97] Plantin bought prints and maps from Galle, in order to send them to customers of the *Officina Plantiniana* all over Europe. In turn, Plantin also sold (illustrated) books to his colleague, who had his own clientele to whom he delivered either by mail or, as most other print publishers did, directly from his print-shop. Furthermore, Galle employed the Plantin Press for most of his works that included typographically printed text.[98] Occasionally Philips Galle for his part would engrave a copperplate that was to be used in one of Plantin's books,

such as a *Christ on the cross* after Maarten van Heemskerck (*fig. 23*), dated 1572 and used in several editions of a *Missale Romanum*, and an engraved representation of the 'sicla' or the holy sickle, used in the eighth and last volume of Plantin's *Biblia Polyglotta*.[99]

In other cases, the two publishers worked together even closer and produced illustrated books that were issued as a joint venture. One such instance is the above-mentioned emblem book *De rerum usu et abusu*, conceived by Coornhert and first published in 1575. Although the name of Galle is not mentioned on the title page, the detailed archival records of the Plantin Press unequivocally make clear that Plantin and Galle produced and financed this work together. As in other cases, all expenses were split in two, while the resulting edition of 500 copies was also strictly divided in half. Costs made by Galle - such as buying, engraving and printing the copperplates - were carefully noted, as were expenses made by Plantin, like the delivery of reams of paper to his colleague and the printing of the letterpress text. The copperplates were probably kept in the Galle workshop and remained the joint property of both publishers.[100] With some small variations, this arrangement became characteristic of several other works on which the two friends were to collaborate: each separately contributing half of the efforts and carrying half of the financial risks. In this way Philips Galle, who from other sources also emerges as a self-assured entrepreneur who preferred to be in control of all publications in which he was involved, could retain his independence.[101] It was, as will be seen below, only after his son Theodoor took over control around 1600, that the Galle workshop became a supplier to the *Officina Plantiniana* instead of an equal partner in publishing illustrated books.

Other external affairs that involved the production of the Galle workshop in Antwerp were the acquiring of a privilege or an *approbatio*. Privileges - issued by the secular authorities in Brussels and intended to provide copyright to specific works for a limited period of time, as well as to have control over the contents of all books published - are only occasionally found on works published by Philips Galle. In most cases, the printmaker only applied for such a privilege when it concerned elaborate, and thus expensive projects like illustrated books with a combination of letterpress text and engravings. In fact, since 1529 it was formally required that every printed book in the Low Countries had to be submitted to the authorities for approval. Single prints and series of prints did not fall under this obligation and hardly ever include a privilege in the late sixteenth century.[102] Much more often the *approbatio* - also compulsory for all books printed, and provided by the local religious authorities - is to be found on works produced by Galle. Apparently, like so many of his colleagues, the printmaker found it much easier to avoid the censorship of the authorities in Brussels, than to risk a confrontation with ecclesiastical censors in his home town.[103]

Finally, dedications were an important part of the business of publishing prints. Most series of prints and nearly all illustrated books issued by Philips Galle included a dedication.[104] In most cases these were signed by Galle, but on other occasions this was done on behalf of a designer or an author involved. Galle's dedications sometimes were truly a token of friendship, offered in gratitude to a friend or an acquaintance. One can, for example, find an elaborate acknowledgement to the Amsterdam art collector Jacob Rauwert on

the first sheet of Galle's first edition of the *Acts of the Apostles*, engraved after Maarten van Heemskerck (1575). The printmaker here publicly thanks Rauwert for his generous support of the ailing painter in the last years of his life.[105] In other cases reasons for dedicating a certain work evidently were entirely different. Offering a series of prints devoted to the naval triumph of Don Juan of Austria over the Turks to this son of Charles V seems rather obvious. It is clearly suggested - truthfully or not - that this illustrated book was issued with a sanction from Don Juan in person, warning others against trying to market pirate-editions.[106] On other occasions, a dedication involved the patron or the owner of a certain work, or a group of works, reproduced in copper. This was the case, for example, with several prints after paintings by Stradanus, commissioned by the Florentine cardinal Alessandro de'Medici.[107] In most instances, however, dedications were addressed to members of high ranked noble and patrician families in Antwerp and Brussels, with whom Galle could have been acquainted himself. By lack of documentary sources it is unknown if such dedications, like those directed to governmental institutes, were a source of income for the publisher.[108] Leaving this aside, one can speculate on the fact that Galle added such dedications for two reasons. In the first place it was a means of flattering the person in question, and thus potentially securing future favours from influential individuals. On the other hand, a dedication may also have been intended to stimulate interest in the publication concerned amongst a major group of potential buyers. In this respect, a dedication to, for instance, the Antwerp burgomasters Edward van der Dilft and Charles Malineus of the print series *Encomium Musices* is to a large extent comparable to the present-day custom of presenting a first copy of a book to highly placed persons.[109]

As the here described structure of the Galle workshop, with an emphasis on the period 1570-75, hardly changed until 1600 when Philips's son Theodoor took over control, the methods of production and its collaborators have been discussed in detail. Although the names of his collaborators did, of course, change over the years, the way prints, series of prints and illustrated books were produced did not. It was solely through this rationalized production process, that Galle was able to produce so many engravings of a consistently high quality. But it is not only the quantity of his production from the years 1570-75 onwards, which is so amazing. Even more so is the variety of subjects that Galle produced in his first years in Antwerp.

As is shown elsewhere Galle's portraits of scholars, for instance, introduced this subject in Northern Europe and set an example that was rapidly copied by others. The same accounts for many of his religious works, especially those made in collaboration with Benito Arias Montano. But besides these latter two subjects, both of which elaborate on themes already introduced in his earlier Haarlem period, Philips Galle diversified the list of his publishing house with entirely new subjects such as the ornament prints after Vredeman de Vries, the triumphal arches in Zsamboky's *Arcus aliquot triumphales* and the emblems in Coornhert's *De rerum usu et abusu*. Another novelty in the Galle workshop was the involvement in cartography, an emphasis that would become particularly important after 1575.[110] Entirely appropriate is the fact that the very first map published by Galle is a view of his former home town Haarlem during the siege of 1573, engraved after a drawing by Heemskerck (*fig. 24*).[111]

Two important characteristics should, finally, also be taken in account in this survey of the crucial and formative period between 1570 and 1575. In the first place, Philips Galle clearly set out to determine both the general nature as well as the iconographic details of the contents of his prints in person, even when he, as in the case of Arias Montano, collaborated with humanist advisors. The homogeneity of his production, the phrasing of the introductions to his major series, his continuous craving for complete independence and the fact that several of the most innovative subjects were designed by himself, strongly support this conclusion.[112] Furthermore, it will not come as a surprise that Galle hardly ever reused plates previously published by others. One will, for example, find the address of Galle on prints once issued by his predecessor Hieronymus Cock, such as Coornhert's series of military victories of Emperor Charles V (*fig. 15*). Such instances, however, are exceptions in the *oeuvre* of the newly settled, but obviously self-confident Antwerp publisher.[113]

Antwerp 1575-1585

The stirring military, political and religious events between 1566 and 1585 add up to one of the most crucial and dramatic chapters in the history of the city of Antwerp.[114] After the *Beeldenstorm* (iconoclastic fury) of 1566 and a vain attempt by the Calvinists to take over power in 1567, the Duke of Alba frantically tried, on behalf of the Spanish Crown, to strengthen control over the city with its large number of inhabitants inclined towards the Reformation. The continuous struggles between the rebellious *Geuzen* (Beggars), commanded by William of Orange, and the Spanish forces inevitably led to an economic recession in Flanders. Especially after the estuary of the river Scheldt had been blockaded by the Sea Beggars in 1572, the Antwerp economy was hard hit. To make matters worse, the inhabitants also had to pay mutinous Spanish forces 'protecting' the city an enormous sum of money in 1574, in order to prevent pillaging.[115] This could, however, not avert the disastrous Spanish Fury on November 1576, when thousands of soldiers sacked Antwerp.

More was to come. In August of 1577 the forces of William of Orange, on behalf of the rebellious States General of Holland and Zeeland, entered Antwerp. Although a treaty of religious tolerance was signed on 29 August 1578, tensions between the various communities of faith grew day by day. In fact, the Calvinists slowly but surely took over control of the city. From 1579 onwards life became increasingly difficult for the Catholic Church, losing power, possessions and in the end even its right to hold services. Although Calvinist rule did initially lead to a revival of economics, this did not last very long. Under successful command of the Duke of Farnese, the Spanish forces regained more and more control over Flanders. The defence of the city became an increasingly heavy burden for its citizens who were levied with special war contributions.[116] All in vain, as in the fall of 1585, after a siege of one year, Alessandro Farnese recaptured Antwerp. Immediately hereinafter the authority of the Spanish Crown and of the Catholic Church was fully reinstated, marking the beginning of the Counter-Reformation in the Southern Netherlands.

One has to take in account, however, that the chronological division in this chapter is in the end determined by the list of prints published by Philips Galle, and not by the

described historical events in Antwerp. The year 1575 has been chosen as dividing line as it marks the end of his association with Arias Montano - who left Antwerp in 1575 -, as well as with Maarten van Heemskerck and Hadrianus Junius, who died in 1574 and 1575 respectively. On the other hand, from 1574 onwards Galle started to collaborate with the two print designers that were to dominate his production for decades to come: Maarten de Vos and Johannes Stradanus. No less interesting is a large and distinct group of moralizing prints published soon after 1575, obviously produced under strong influence of Galle's former master Coornhert and engraved by the young Hendrick Goltzius. It is for such reasons that it seems legitimate to make a distinction between the period before and after 1575.[117]

In general, Galle seems to have slowed down his production slightly after 1575, although the lack of dates on most of the individual prints and smaller (i.e. up to 6 prints) series makes this difficult to specify.[118] This may have been caused by the growing political and religious tensions in Flanders. On the other hand, the business of publishing prints was international in outlook, and seems to have been, even during the crisis around 1584/85, relatively untouched by economic decline. It simply may have been his (over?)ambitious start in Antwerp, that caused Galle to reconsider his expectations and to slow down the rate of publications. Nevertheless, the structure of his workshop did not change, nor did, regarding the contents of his publications, his strive for diversification. Even more than in the period before 1575, non-religious subjects were to dominate his list of published works.

Looking at the collaborators of his workshop, it is clear that new generations came to the fore. New authors, for instance, were approached to compose verses in the margin. In particular Cornelis Kiliaan, a scholarly proofreader working for Plantin, became a prolific contributor of such Latin inscriptions.[119] Johannes Stradanus, Maarten de Vos, Marcus Gheeraerts and Hans Vredeman de Vries had all begun to work for Philips Galle around 1574, and became increasingly important as designers of prints in the following years. Stradanus was, without any doubt, the most versatile designer: hunts, religious subjects of all sorts, mythology, themes from Dante's *Divina Commedia*, contemporary history and even two maps, all of these subjects were engraved and published after his designs (*figs. 25-27*). With a few exceptions - such as series of male and female worthies, the muses (*fig. 28*) and personifications of the winds - Maarten de Vos mostly contributed religious subjects, often rendering traditional biblical themes and traditional devotional images (*fig. 29*). Galle's engravings after Gheeraerts show a marked predilection for animals and ornamental designs, while Vredeman de Vries, as said above, was an acknowledged designer of all subjects related to architecture (*figs. 30-31*).[120]

Regarding the engravers, the first new collaborator was Hendrick Goltzius. The young printmaker came to work for Galle directly upon his arrival in the latter's former home town Haarlem in 1577, probably urged to do so by their mutual tutor Coornhert (*fig. 32*). This gifted engraver did not work for Galle very long. From 1579 onwards, Goltzius began to work on his own accord and in 1582 he succeeded in establishing his own printshop that was to dominate Dutch printmaking for decades to come.[121] As, with the exception of Hieronymus Wierix, his earlier group of engravers (Groenning, the Doetecum

brothers, Johannes Sadeler) was apparently no longer available, Philips Galle was in need of new collaborators. Like he had done before, he occasionally made use of established printmakers who would incise copperplates on his behalf. The three Wierix brothers and Crispijn de Passe were such artists.[122] Although the Wierix family did publish prints themselves, they also often worked for other publishers in Antwerp. Even though the reputation of the three talented engravers was not very solid - due to their drinking bouts, they apparently were not considered to be reliable - Philips Galle made use of their services at least until 1590.[123] Crispijn de Passe, who had possibly mastered the art of engraving in the Wierix workshop, only seems to have worked for Galle in the years around 1585, prior to his departure from Antwerp in 1588 (*fig. 33*).

Far more important, however, is an even younger generation of engravers that was much more closely connected to the Galle workshop. From 1580 onwards Adriaen Collaert, and a few years later his namesake Johannes Collaert - most probably the latter's younger brother - began to work for Philips Galle.[124] In contrast to all other engravers mentioned until now, these two young printmakers were most probably trained by the master himself. Furthermore, they seem to have had a much tighter relationship with Galle, working in the workshop on a much more regular basis than all their predecessors.[125] In case of Adriaen Collaert, their mutual relation was even strengthened when the young engraver married Galle's eldest daughter Justa or Josina in 1586.[126] In style and technique, both Johannes and Adriaen closely follow the example of their master. Adriaen's manner of engraving is somewhat bolder and has a slightly more linear character in comparison to his younger colleague Johannes, who made use of finer and shorter strokes of the burin (*compare figs. 34 and 35*).[127]

Looking at the contents, rather than the collaborators of the works published by Philips Galle after 1575, the importance of religious subjects in general and moralizing themes in particular declined. In the first years after his friend and advisor Arias Montano had left, Galle continued, as has been mentioned above, to produce a large coherent group of such prints in conjunction with the young Goltzius and Coornhert in Haarlem. After 1578, however, the publisher almost ceased to publish moralizing Christian-humanist subjects. Instead, he concentrated on issuing non-religious prints and print series. Those religious works that he did publish were far less outspoken in their iconography, often taking their subjects from the Bible. Around 1580, for instance, the first major Passion series after Stradanus was issued (*fig. 36*), followed suit by the enlarged version of the *Acts of the Apostles* in 1582 and a second Passion cycle after Stradanus around 1585. To what extent the religious tensions in Antwerp did influence this change, is difficult to determine. Perhaps the rise to power of the Calvinists, may have urged the (Catholic) printmaker to be careful in publishing any subject that could have brought about annoyances of the authorities. On the other hand, there may also have been a change in the market for religious prints. Many Catholics were leaving Antwerp, while the group of moderate humanists - the clients to which Galle's humanist oriented prints traditionally would have appealed - was quickly loosing its importance.

This, of course, raises the question what is known of Galle's own religious opinions. Formally, so it seems, the printmaker always stayed within the Catholic Church. Even in 1581, when the Calvinists were in power in Antwerp and it would have been self-evident to affirm any Lutheran or Calvinist inclination, his new-born son Philips the Younger was baptized as a member of the Roman Church.[128] On the other hand, there is an intriguing remark made by the theologian, calligrapher and poet Paulus de Kempenaer: "I have known this man [i.e Philips Galle], who was a very skilful engraver, intimately. But I think of him with sadness, as he, beside being disposed towards the Augsburg confession, was also papistic. This in order not to loose sight of the fleshpots of Egypt and leave the beautiful city of Antwerp."[129] These bitter words were written down in 1617 by the Calvinist and strongly anti-Catholic De Kempenaer in the margin of a printed biography of Galle, long after the two had been acquainted.[130]

Although nothing at all is known about Galle's disposition towards the Reformed Churches, it is rather certain that he was a far from orthodox Catholic. Even as late as 1598, at the occasion of the wedding of his son Theodoor with the eldest daughter of Jan Moretus, there were slanderous (and dangerous) rumours on the lack of orthodoxy of both families.[131] His apprenticeship and subsequent long-standing friendship with the heterodox moralist Coornhert seems to have to shaped the young Galle's religious and ethical opinions to a large extent, as is discussed in detail in chapter 4. One could (very briefly) summarize the latter's opinions as on the one hand strongly affirming man's own moral responsibility for his actions on earth, while, on the other hand, striving for perfection by following the moral and spiritual guidelines set by the life and Passion of Jesus Christ.[132]

Once settled in Antwerp, there is ample circumstantial evidence to connect the printmaker with the likewise oriented, spiritualist circle of humanists around Christophe Plantin, known as the *Family of Love*. Indeed, two of Galle's closest friends in Antwerp, Abraham Ortels and Benito Arias Montano, were closely connected to this underground spiritualist movement.[133] Of several friends, such as the cartographer Gerard Mercator, it is known that they sympathized with the Reformatorian movement, while yet others, such as the humanist schoolmaster Pieter Heyns and the above Paulus de Kempenaer, were avowed Calvinists.[134] It is also documented that Galle was acquainted with the political leader of the Antwerp Calvinist community, Philips van Marnix van Sint-Aldegonde, as well as with numerous humanists outside Antwerp who were favourably inclined towards the Reformatorian movement.[135] In short, even though one can not judge a person solely through his social and cultural environment, it is at least quite clear that many of Philips Galle's friends and acquaintances before 1585 belonged either to the group of moderate Christian humanists, often wandering between the Roman Church and the Reformed Churches, or to the group of humanists that had clearly chosen the side of the Reformation. In corroboration with the visual evidence taken from his prints, one can only conclude that Galle belonged to the first group. Whatever his sympathies may have been for certain aspects of Calvinism, he apparently never left the Roman Church. In fact, in the case of at least one quintessential Calvinist creed, namely the doctrine of predestination, he evidently took an entirely opposite view.[136]

What may have bound Galle, besides any personal affection, to such staunch anti-Catholics as De Kempenaer, may also have been a common aversion to the Spanish rule of the Low Countries. In contrast to his opinions on religious matters, we are much better informed on the political views of Philips Galle in the years 1575 to 1585. Although in general an anti-Spanish attitude corresponded with a protestant persuasion, there were, especially during the first years of the so-called Dutch Revolt, many Catholics also who supported William of Orange in his struggle against the Spanish Crown. Especially many humanists and moderate Catholics - amongst them, for instance, Christophe Plantin - cherished the hope that the Dutch prince would be able to establish a constitution with more religious tolerance.[137]

In 1579, Galle wrote and published a small treatise that was to earn him a modest place in the annals of Dutch historiography. This booklet entitled 'A short description of the most notorious events that took place from day to day in the 17 Provinces of the Netherlands, from the year A.D. 1566 up to 1579' was first published in the fall of 1578 as an elaborate Latin text accompanying a large map of the Netherlands.[138] According to the introduction of his own book, Galle was immediately thereinafter asked to reissue separate Dutch and French translations of his resumé of the current dramatic political events in the Low Countries. As a result no less than five editions (two Dutch and three French) of this apparently popular treatise were printed and published in collaboration with Plantin in 1579.[139] In 1580 and 1583 the original Latin version was reprinted in a more elaborate historical study of the Netherlands compiled by the Frankfort publisher Sigismund Feyerabend, again attesting to the large demand for publications trying to clarify the intricate political and religious situation.[140]

Galle's map of the Netherlands and the accompanying booklet show him to take a partisan view against both the Spanish rule, the results of which he had witnessed himself in Antwerp, as well as the imminent threat of a division of the country. Besides William of Orange, Galle had clearly settled his hopes for a unified and more tolerant Netherlands on Matthias of Austria, the newly appointed vice-roy.[141] Other publications also demonstrate that the printmaker had a profound (more than commercial) interest in contemporary political events. He published, for instance, a large view of the Spanish siege of Maastricht in 1579, as well as a panoramic view of his home town Antwerp that elaborates specifically on the military defence of the city.[142] Furthermore, one finds Galle described in an essay by his friend Pieter Heyns as someone who was able to entertain his friends with long, but fascinating talks on the political events of the day.[143] All in all, the printmaker seems to have been a moderate criticaster of the Spanish authorities, making a stand against what he considered the excesses of their rule. At the same time, he hoped for the unity of all the provinces under one ruler who would provide both peace and tolerance. But Galle was apparently realistic enough to realize how slim the chances were for such ideals. As a motto the following gloomy words were added to a second map of the Netherlands, also published around 1578: "In human affairs Divine Power acts capricious: it gives, and it takes. Either the entire Netherlands will be attacked by force, or a sad defeated part will face misfortunes."[144]

Again diverting attention from the person to the works he published, Galle's interests in cartography not only led him to publish maps related to political events, but also to the production of a far more timeless and commercially highly interesting innovation: the pocket atlas. From 1577 until 1598, Philips Galle issued no less than 11 editions in four languages (Latin, Dutch, French and Italian) of a reduced and simplified version of Abraham Ortels's famous atlas *Theatrum orbis terrarum*.[145] By doing so, Galle and his collaborators (Pieter Heyns and Hugo Favolius) made this important, but expensive atlas available to a much larger public. Judging by the large number of editions and, even more, by the enormous amount of copies bought by the Plantin Press alone, it must have been a tremendous commercial success.[146] Regarding the quality of engraving and the scope of its intellectual conception, these cartographic activities certainly do not rank among the most noteworthy works produced by the Galle workshop. It does seem, however, probable that it were exactly these popular and often reprinted publications that enabled Philips Galle to let his workshop exist on such a grand scale in the difficult years between 1575 and 1585.

Besides cartography, there was another popular subject that was introduced in the list of publications shortly after 1575. In 1578, Galle published his first of many series of hunts after designs by Johannes Stradanus (*compare figs. 37-39*). In a still untangled mystery of numerous editions and re-editions with continuous changes in the number and sequence of engravings, Galle published over a hundred engraved images of hunting scenes after the Florentine master.[147] The popularity of such engraved images of hunts - partly traditional European hunts, partly exotic hunts and partly hunting parties of non-existing mythical animals - was immense. Not only the large number of editions proof this, but also the many copies after these engravings in other media.[148] Besides the prints after Stradanus, Galle also published an elaborate series of hunts after Hans Bol in 1582 (*fig. 40-41*) and a smaller series of fighting animals after Marcus Gheeraerts, issued around 1580-85.[149] Other series of prints from the same period show to which extent nature, and especially animals, had become a subject that was clearly in demand: a series of horses from the stable of Don Juan of Austria (*fig. 27*), again after Stradanus, a series of birds and butterflies after designs by Gheeraerts and a large series of plants and flowers, engraved by Adriaen Collaert (*fig. 42*).[150] The sudden popularity of such series is remarkable. In comparison, in the period before 1575 Galle had not issued one comparable engraving.

This is not the case with the ornament prints Galle published after 1575, as he had already started to collaborate with Vredeman de Vries and Gheeraerts before that date. He continued to work with these designers, producing a series of designs for jewels after Gheeraerts (*fig. 30*), a series of furniture designs after Vredeman de Vries (*fig. 31*), as well three different series of gardens between 1583 and 1587.[151] In 1581/82 two other series of designs for pendants were engraved after Hans Collaert the Elder, father of Galle's pupils Adriaen and Johannes (*figs. 43-44*). These two series of jewellery are not only interesting regarding the quality of the engravings, but even more as they are the last designs made by Hans Collaert - as the inscription "ioannis collaert opus postremum' on one of the sheets clearly specifies - and the first dated engravings of his son Adriaen.[152]

Other major series and illustrated books - to conclude the survey of this period - that Galle issued before the fall of Antwerp in 1585, were: a historical lineage of the Counts

of Holland and Zeeland, with text by Michael Vosmeer (1578), a lavishly illustrated version of the Fables of Aesop in French (1578) and Latin (1579), a series of 29 engravings of ancient gods entitled *De deis gentium imagines* (1581), a history of the military triumphs of the De'Medici family (1582/83), a reissue of the antique coins from the collection of Abraham Ortels (1582), a third, changed edition of Arias Montano's *Divinarum nuptiarum* (1583), and, finally, the original Dutch version of the Coornhert/Furmerus *De rerum usu et abusu*, published by Plantin in 1585 and illustrated with the plates from the Galle workshop.[153] Together with numerous smaller series of prints and countless individual engravings, the above summary of the production of prints in the years between 1575 to 1585 demonstrate that, without any doubt, Philips Galle was the most prolific and most versatile print publisher active in Northern Europe. On a rather different (less humanist and less international oriented, and more focused on religious prints) market, it was perhaps only his fellow townsman and former associate Gerard de Jode who operated on a comparable scale.[154]

Antwerp 1585-1600

In the fall of 1585, after a long siege, Alessandro Farnese succeeded in forcing the city of Antwerp to surrender. Immediately hereinafter, the Calvinist city government lost their power to the new authorities acting on behalf of the Spanish Crown. The Catholic Church reinstated its power with an astonishing swiftness, but also with a prudent restraint. All citizens of the reformed conviction (Lutherans, Calvinists and the small community of anabaptists) were given three years to either concert to the Catholic faith, or were allowed to leave Antwerp with their possessions. This made sense, as the city - which had already suffered extremely from the misfortunes of war and had seen tens of thousands of its inhabitants flee in the preceding years - was perhaps the most profoundly Protestant city in the Netherlands.[155]

As in the case of all other occupations, artists made varying choices. The engraver and publisher Crispijn de Passe left Antwerp on account of his conviction and settled in Cologne. The Lutheran painter Maarten de Vos, who specialized in altarpieces and religious compositions, reluctantly converted to Catholicism in fear of loosing his income and could thus stay in the city on the Scheldt as one of its most venerated painters.[156] As a member of the Catholic Church Philips Galle did not have to choose, and apparently his anti-Spanish opinions and his hardly disguised sympathies with spiritualist tendencies were not serious enough to bring him in trouble with the new authorities. Instead, so it seems, Galle, like in the preceding periods, quickly succeeded in establishing good contacts with the highest levels of both secular and religious officials. It is perhaps this smooth and rapid adaptation, which can be encountered in the same way in the case of Christophe Plantin, that made Paulus de Kempenaer write the above quoted bitter words on Galle's opportunism. It is, however, very obvious from the nature of the many religious subjects published by Galle from 1585 onwards that, at least formally, he had to suppress any inclinations he might still have had towards his heterodox opinions on faith, as expressed in his earlier prints. To

what extent Galle's opinions on religion and politics changed, possibly reverting (as many other moderate humanists in Flanders) towards the objectives of the Counter-Reformation, remains to be seen. Unfortunately, next to nothing is (as yet) known of his personal opinions on such matters after 1585.

In 1585 Philips Galle was an established printmaker, with a solid international reputation. He was now one of the leading persons in the Antwerp artistic community, as can be judged from his election as vice-dean and dean of the guild of St. Luke in 1584 and 1585 respectively.[157] His continuing friendship with Plantin, and after the latter's death in 1589, with the Moretus family, as well as his widespread contacts with leading artists and humanists all over Europe (like Stradanus in Italy and Arias Montano in Spain) demonstrate his standing as an intellectual publisher. Galle's self-consciousness of his status can be corroborated by means of several prestigious publications after 1585, in which the printmaker prides himself to be a learned artist whose works will benefit younger generations and further the arts in general. If one reads, for instance, the introductions of his drawing book *Instruction et fondements* (1589) or his influential and highly innovative series of personifications entitled *Prosopographia*, there can be little doubt about the ambition and self-confidence of the printmaker.[158]

The structure and the production process of the workshop itself did not change after 1585. Judging by the frequency of their signatures on engravings Adriaen and Johannes Collaert were now working almost fulltime on behalf of Philips Galle. His eldest son Theodoor also began working as fully qualified engraver. The latter's first and proudly signed engraving is dated 1586, when he was only fifteen years old.[159] The younger son Cornelis, who was born in 1576, only began signing somewhere after 1590 and seems to have begun engraving on a large scale around 1594/95.[160] In 1585 Karel de Mallery was recorded as an apprentice of Philips Galle. He was yet another pupil that would become a prominent member of the workshop and (like Adriaen Collaert) would marry one of Galle's daughters in 1598 (*fig. 45*). Still later, other pupils were known to be part of the studio, like Jean-Baptiste Barbé and Christoffel Spierinck in 1595, and Pieter Backereel as late as 1605.[161]

To what extent all these engravers, apprentices and pupils contributed to the production is difficult to ascertain. Especially after 1590 more and more engravings were published without a signature. In many cases neither the names of engravers, nor of the designers in question were added to prints, with the exception of Galle's sons Theodoor and Cornelis. Of Karel de Mallery, for instance, relatively few signed works are known from the period of more than ten years that he worked on behalf of his future father-in-law. It seems that only the more prestigious and finely engraved subjects were considered to be worthy of signature, such as De Mallery's beautiful *Bathing nymphs at night* after Stradanus (*fig. 46*), or the elaborate series on the history of sericulture after the same Florentine master.[162] Philips Galle also slowly stopped engraving himself and concentrated upon the business of publishing prints and learning his sons and sons-in-law all the tricks of the trade. This can not only be concluded from the decreasing number of prints that include his signature, but also from such remarks made by Christophe Plantin in a letter of January 1587.[163]

This touches upon another characteristic of the Galle workshop after 1585. With a few exceptions - notably the early works of Cornelis Galle - the prints published by Galle became strikingly uniform in their manner of engraving. Perhaps this 'company style' was a necessity as the number of talented engravers dwindled in Antwerp. Certainly after Adriaen Collaert set up his own workshop in 1593 and Cornelis Galle had left for Italy around 1595, the general quality of the engravings Galle published declined.[164] It is a tendency that reflects the declining importance of Antwerp as an innovative centre of printmaking in Northern Europe. In Germany it was, for instance, Cologne and in the Northern Netherlands it were the cities of Haarlem and, slightly later, Amsterdam that were taking over the leading position of the city in Flanders.[165]

The growing anonymity is also reflected in the choice of designers. After 1590, Maarten de Vos and after 1595, Johannes Stradanus slowed down their activities in this field, while no comparable successors came to the fore.[166] Philips Galle did, in fact, make much more use of draughtsmen who would supply incidental designs for prints and print series. One can thus find Galle publish several engravings after Ambrosius Francken or, to mention some artists of a younger generation, Joos de Momper, Gerrit Pietersz. and Nicolas de Hoey.[167] Partly through his son Cornelis, who stayed in Italy for a number of years, Galle occasionally issued prints after such masters as Francesco Vanni, Giovanni Battista Paggi, Federico Barocci and others.[168] But none of these incidentally used artists were to effectively replace the tight relationship Galle had in the preceding decades with such various designers as Heemskerck, Groenning, De Vos and Stradanus.

It is indeed striking that after 1590 many engravings were issued without any signature of a designer. Perhaps this is no wonder, when one considers that many of these prints are fairly simple in composition and subject, and could thus well have been made by the engravers themselves. As is discussed extensively in chapter 4, the growing Counter-Reformatorian tenor of Galle's production of prints coincided with a tendency towards more plain and simple subject matter of prints that were intended to illustrate basic principles of faith and popular devotional subjects (*fig. 47*). Although such religious themes now clearly dominated the list of publications, a short survey of the period until 1600 - when his son entirely took over the family enterprise - will demonstrate that several ambitious series of most varied nature were still published.

Directly after the fall in Antwerp in 1585, for instance, Galle incised and published a series of eight engravings after monumental statues by the Antwerp sculptor Jacques Jonghelinck (*fig. 48*).[169] These engravings were - as the inscription on the first sheet also mentions - obviously related to current political events, as these sculptures were used to ornate the central square in Antwerp on the occasion of Duke Farnese's triumphal entry into the city. The engravings can thus be seen as both an attempt to live up to the demand for topical prints, as well as an deliberate effort to come into favour with the new rulers. Also topical, but in an entirely different context, was Galle's involvement around 1587 with an attempt to bring out an illustrated cycle of engraved illustrations of Dante's *Divina Commedia*. In collaboration with Stradanus and the Florentine nobleman and scholar Luigi Alamanni, preparations were made to illustrate the first part of this famous late medieval

book. This was done in the light of a fierce debate on the merits of Dante Alighieri in the Florentine literary academies. Just like the debate faded away, the project for an illustrated book failed to be realized, and only three engravings were, in the end, brought out as a meagre testimony of all the endeavours (*figs. 49-50*).[170] More successful, however, were Galle's portraits of scholars, a subject which he introduced in Netherlandish printmaking (*fig. 51*). After his first two editions in 1567 and 1572, the publisher now issued new and revised series of such images in 1587 (reprinted in 1595 and 1606) and in 1604 (reissued by his son Theodoor in 1608). As is discussed extensively in chapter 2, Galle also produced comparable series of famous cardinals in 1598 and illustrious Jesuits around 1600. Such diverse projects give an idea of the intellectual scope and ambitions of Philips Galle's workshop.

A no less interesting novelty was a series of fifteen engravings illustrating exquisitely coiffured ladies and gentlemen, probably published somewhere between 1590 and 1600 (*fig. 52*). As was made clear very recently, this seemingly glossy model book for new trends in coiffure is, in fact, a catalogue of vanity. The addition of two engravings of Democritus and Heraclitus (the laughing and crying philosophers) at the head and the end of the book, clarify that it was the publisher's intention to provide the public with a satire on exaggerated concern for outward appearance.[171] It is also, however, probable that Galle may have had both aims - interest in fashion, as well as the satire upon such a 'vain' interest - in mind when he issued his catalogue of beards and hair styles.

More serious in all respects are two major scholarly publications that, both in contents and in quality of engravings, belong to the very best Philips Galle ever published. In 1591 an illustrated treatise on the quadrature of the circle, written by the Italian mathematician Fabrizio Mordente, was published. All text in this prestigious publication - dedicated to Duke Farnese - was engraved, a laborious and extremely costly working method (*figs. 53-54*).[172] Around the same time, the undated *Nova reperta* was published. This intriguing and often quoted, but curiously enough hardly studied series of 20 engravings, set out to illustrate the new inventions of modern times, that is to say from the early Renaissance onwards (*figs. 55-57*). In a curious mingle of subjects, the sixteenth-century viewer is informed of the fact that modern times have brought him such diverse inventions as the discovery of America, cures against venereal diseases, windmills, and, interesting to art historians, the often illustrated inventions of oil painting, printing images and printing books.[173] Especially these last two are interesting. Although these engravings may not be considered as truthful reproductions of existing workshops, they do provide us with important information on how Stradanus and Philips Galle wanted to represent an ideal workshop of a book printer and a printmaker.

While Galle kept producing various of such prestigious and innovative works, other subjects, such as ornament prints, landscapes and maps became conspicuously less important in his list of publications. Although Galle kept reissuing earlier cartographic works, new maps and town views were hardly published after 1585.[174] One of the interesting exceptions in this respect is a series of topographical views, engraved in the Galle workshop after designs by Hendrik van Cleve (*figs. 58-59*). This undated series of 38 prints, pre-

sumably made between 1585 and 1590, combines views of ruins, town views and historical sites in an order to provide the reader with the most remarkable topographical views in Europe.[175] Philips Galle now also refrained from publishing topical prints in relation to current political and military events. Rather than producing, as he had done on several earlier occasions, maps and town views with manifest opinions on politics, the printmaker now, for instance, published such historical views as *The Turks retreating after their unsuccessful siege of Vienna (fig. 60)*. No one would take offense to the depiction of such an event, that had taken place in 1529, and was engraved after designs Johannes Stradanus had made for the triumphal entry of Christina of Lorraine in Florence in 1589.[176]

Theodoor and Cornelis Galle: a new generation of engravers and publishers after 1600

From 1586 onwards engravings with the signature of Galle's eldest son Theodoor were published. The best works he incised for his father's workshop, such as the above series *Nova reperta* or the series *Litis abusus (fig. 61)*, show him to be a skilful engraver, whose style and technique closely follow the example set by his father.[177] At an unknown date after July 1592 and before May 1594, Theodoor travelled to Italy. How long he did stay there exactly and what his activities were, is largely unknown. He is recorded in Rome, where he made numerous drawings of antique coins in the collection of the antiquarian Fulvio Orsini.[178] One would expect Theodoor to have visited his father's old friend Stradanus in Florence, but documentary evidence on such a visit has not yet come to light. In the fall of 1596 the engraver returned to Antwerp, where he was registered as 'meesterssoon' (son of a registered master) in the guild of St. Luke.[179]

On 2 August 1598, Theodoor Galle married Catherina Moretus, eldest daughter of Plantin's successor Jan Moretus.[180] In the very same month, as is if it were a kind of informal masterpiece produced for his father and father-in-law, the first major publication with Theodoor Galle's address was published: *Illustrium imagines ex antiquis marmoribus, numismatibus et gemmis expressae*, a large illustrated book consisting of no less than 151 engravings of antique busts, coins and gems. These were the same objects Theodoor had copied a few years earlier in the collection of Fulvio Orsini.[181] From this year, the Galle workshop seems to have gone through a transition period in which a declining number of works was issued with the address of Philips Galle, while at the same time more and more prints were published with the address of Theodoor. Judging by such visual evidence, the younger Galle seems to have been *de facto* the head of the family workshop from 1600 onwards. After this date, his father apparently only published those works under his own name that were of special interest to him. Given Philips Galle's lifelong interest in portraits, for example, it is not very surprising to find series of portraits with his address dated 1604 and 1606. No works after this last year have been traced.[182]

The fact that Theodoor Galle took over control of the workshop around 1600, is also corroborated by the numerous contacts on his behalf with the Plantin Press. This relates to a clear shift in management of the Galle studio. While Theodoor continued, like his

father before him, to print and publish large numbers of newly engraved prints and series of prints, he also introduced two new activities in the family enterprise. In the first place, Theodoor - using the stock of copperplates of his father as a point of departure - reissued countless engravings that had been published by earlier generations of printmakers in the last decades of the sixteenth century.[183] There was, as mentioned in the beginning of the chapter, a large demand for these prints until the third quarter of the seventeenth century. Theodoor Galle, and later his son Johannes, in Antwerp, and Claes Jansz. Visscher in Amsterdam, were by far the most important publishers of these continuously reprinted mannerist engravings.[184] In the case of Theodoor Galle, the only efforts he made in reprinting old copperplates was changing the name of the publisher - often only on the first print of a series - and reworking a plate whenever it was worn too much. Johannes Galle would often add cartouches with additional Latin or Dutch explanations, an indication that the original humanist subtleties in meaning were not always understood by the (probably much wider) public that was aimed at around 1650 (*fig. 62*).[185]

The second innovation in the Galle workshop is the close collaboration with the Plantin Press. While the elder Galle cherished his independence as a publisher and only collaborated with Christophe Plantin on equal terms, the son became a supplier to the Plantin Press. Up until the 1630's, the Galle studio was by far the most important supplier of engraved and reworked copperplates and the printed impressions thereof to the *Officina Plantiniana*. In addition, Theodoor Galle continued to deliver engraved works for the Moretuses for specific commissions, without (and economically considered, perhaps wisely so) the proud independence that was so characteristic of his father's production of prints. To a slightly lesser extent, Johannes Galle - eldest son of Theodoor and heir to the family workshop after the latter's death in 1633 - continued this relationship with the Moretus family.[186]

It was, after all, only after Johannes' death in 1676, that the print production of the Galle family came to an end. Around the same time, an end came to the lineage of printmakers originating from Philips Galle's second son Cornelis. This gifted engraver - who was to produce his best prints after designs by Peter Paul Rubens (*fig. 63*) - probably travelled to Italy with his brother around 1594. How long he did stay there is unknown, but it is certain that he was back in Antwerp in 1610.[187] Although his engraved *oeuvre* is badly in need of cataloguing, it seems that he worked in Rome and perhaps Florence on behalf of his father and on commission by Italian publishers.[188] Back in Flanders, he set up his own workshop, first in Antwerp and later in Brussels. Although he also published engravings on own his account, Cornelis never became such a prolific publisher as his older brother. His son Cornelis II and grandson Cornelis III continued this branch of the family enterprise at least until 1676, mainly focusing on the production of devotional prints.[189]

Seen from an artistic and intellectual point of view, the new developments after 1600 had their drawbacks. The general quality of engraving certainly declined after 1600. In a combination with a changing market for prints and a declining number of qualified engravers in Antwerp, the average print produced by Theodoor Galle could not compare with the engravings his father had published. The growing demand for straightforward reli-

gious subjects became more and important in both branches of the Galle family. Such devotional prints as published by Theodoor (*fig. 64*) and Cornelis (*fig. 65*) Galle in the course of the seventeenth century are interesting prints in their own right, but are, both in intellectual conception and quality of engraving, a far cry from the intricate humanist allegories Philips Galle had conceived in the last quarter of the sixteenth century.

It is, without any doubt, that as a *sculptor doctus* Philips Galle left behind an artistic and intellectual legacy that had a profound influence until deep into the seventeenth century. Galle, together with other representants of his generation, introduced many subjects in the field of printmaking that were to remain very popular for a long time to come. The influence of his work is widespread. Indirectly, through his sons, sons-in-law and other pupils, Galle dominated Antwerp printmaking until far after his death.[190] But it is, in the end, through his own prints that Galle left the most important marks in history. His prints were to be acquired by generations of collectors to come - often not as works of art, but as visual images of moral conceptions.[191] Compositions from the Galle workshop were regularly used by painters as a source of inspiration, while other, often less abstract engravings influenced the history of art in another way, by means of copies used in decorations in the field of applied arts.[192] And even as far away as India, Persia, Japan and Dutch India, works by Galle and his contemporaries left their traces through loads of prints shipped to such countries for several reasons.[193] Although, unlike the slightly younger Hendrick Goltzius, the *oeuvre* of Philips Galle can not be considered as one of the highest artistic peaks in the history of engraving, there are few printmakers who left so many noteworthy traces in the cultural history of their times as "Philips Galle from Haarlem, most excellent engraver".

CHAPTER 2

"..... incised in copper and faithfully rendered;" Philips Galle and the origins of engraved portrait series in the Netherlands*

Between 1567 and 1604 the Antwerp engraver and print publisher Philips Galle issued four different series with portraits of famous scholars, three of which were published in more than one edition.[1] The selection of the 146 images Galle used in all of these, partly overlapping, series was focused on his own age: the sixteenth century. In less than 40 years the workshop of Philips Galle engraved the likeness of a large number of the most important and influential Renaissance humanists, poets and scholars from a wide range of disciplines: theology, philosophy, philology, medicine, astronomy, geography, mathematics. Amongst all those included on account of their writings and reputed learning were many savants from the Netherlands.[2]

It is for more than one reason rewarding to study the contents of Galle's publications in detail. As far as is known Philips Galle is the very first print publisher in Holland and Flanders who took the initiative to issue a series of portraits of famous Renaissance scholars.[3] Until now all research in this respect was focused on Dominique Lampson's *Pictorum aliquot celebrium Germaniae Inferioris effigies*. This well-known compilation of 23 artists' portraits provided the first historical overview of Netherlandish painting from the fifteenth century onwards and was put on the market in 1572 by Volcxken Diericx, the widow of the important Antwerp publisher Hieronymus Cock who had died in 1570. Galle's first series of portraits predates this publication - which was interestingly enough republished by his own son Theodoor around 1602/03 - by no less than five years.[4]

The interest in commemorating the deeds of illustrious and memorable individuals - *uomini famosi* as they were called in Italy - through literary means was widespread during the Italian Renaissance. This venerable classical tradition was renovated in the fourteenth century by Francesco Petrarca in several of his writings and especially in his unfinished *De viris illustribus*.[5] In the middle of the sixteenth century the interest in the deeds and lives of famous men expanded enormously, one only has to think of Vasari's biographies of Italian artists in *Vite de'piu eccelenti pittori, scultori ed architettori* (first published in 1550) or Paolo Giovio's often reprinted laudatory verses on famous scholars (*Elogia doctorum virorum*, first issued in Venice in 1546). Both in Italy and in northern Europe (Germany, the Low Countries) books illustrated with series of portraits first appeared slightly later, around 1565. It is, however, remarkable to see that the genesis of this genre took place in such a remarkably short time. Between 1565 and 1575 - as will be discussed below - series of portraits were produced by Antonio Lafreri in Rome, Tobias Stimmer in Basle and, last but not least, Cock and Galle in Antwerp. It is telling that while the first editions of the biographies by Vasari and Giovio were still without any illustrations, the later editions of 1568 and 1577 respectively, were already richly illustrated with woodcuts.[6]

Seen in this wider international context Philips Galle was also one of the first and foremost publishers who brought visual equivalents of the literary *uomini famosi* tradition on the market. As will be shown the Antwerp engraver is not only a nowadays hardly known initiator of this type of print series, but also one whose influence extended deep into the eighteenth century. In the

biographical notes on Philips Galle of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, his series of portraits are nearly always mentioned among his most important and influential works. When, for instance, Samuel Ampzing published his history of the city of Haarlem in 1628, he explicitly mentioned Galle's portraits as the cornerstone of his fame: "I also have to speak of Coornhert, and Galle even more. Especially Galle - celebrated for his portraits of learned men - may not be left out, as his [use of the] burin was perfect, and his prints are worth mentioning."[7]

Just as interesting are the changes in viewpoints determining the selection of the four respective portrait series as produced by Galle and his collaborators. The first compilation was published in Haarlem in 1567 and offered the contemporary reader, or perhaps more appropriate the viewer[8], a current survey of the main theologians, humanists and reformers of the time. According to Galle's preface to this 1567-edition - which is unfortunately as yet only known by means of a late nineteenth-century résumé - he wanted to present the public an overview of those scholars who had made name due to the religious strives between the reformers and the Catholic Church. While doing so, however, Galle also stressed the moderate humanist thinkers in both camps, such as Erasmus, Melanchton and Joachim Camerarius. This emphasis certainly seems to reflect Galle's own religious views and those of his humanist oriented surroundings in Haarlem at that time. In short, these can be summarized as a mainly ethical Christian humanism, Erasmian of spirit and moderate in its opinions on religious matters.[9] By comparison the *Illustrium scriptorum icones (1604)* - the last series of portraits published by Philips Galle and entirely devoted to Netherlandish scholars - is completely different in character. The first 17 images are monopolized by bishops, priests and Catholic theologians, while those authors who were overtly inclined to the Reformation are omitted without exception. The moderate humanist trait of the first edition has been replaced by the spirit of the Counter-Reformation. It stands to reason that the political and religious situation in Antwerp - the city where Galle lived from 1570 onwards and where the Counter-Reformation caused a far more drastic change than in any other major city in Flanders - left its mark on the contents of these portrait series.[10] As in the case of the iconography of religious prints published in the Galle workshop, the selection of portraits and the character of the accompanying verses in the margin altered under influence of the dramatic changes at the end of the sixteenth century in Antwerp.

Furthermore, the catalogue of all series of portraits published by Philips Galle - here presented in the appendices A to I - and the analysis of the separate editions, might be able to contribute to the iconographic study of portraits of scholars. These portraits clearly filled a need by the public. Galle's print series were frequently reprinted and distributed widely, in part by the *Officina Plantiniana* - the famous publishing house of his friend Christophe Plantin.[11] Hence it is not surprising that large numbers of copies after Galle's engravings were produced well into the eighteenth century. A case in point is Jean François Foppens's overview of all books written by Dutch and Flemish authors throughout the ages. Published in 1739, this bio-bibliographical study was illustrated with both very late and worn impressions of original copperplates from the Galle workshop as well as numerous copies in reverse after those portraits which then were no longer available.[12]

Before paying attention to the interest in engraved portraits of learned men in general and prior to examining how Galle's publications fit into the genesis of this genre, the four respective series will first be scrutinized in their chronological order and compared with other prints produced in the Galle workshop. Special attention will be paid to three highly comparable series from this

output: portraits of all consecutive Renaissance popes starting at the end of the fourteenth century (1572), a series of illustrious cardinals from the fifteenth- and sixteenth century (1598) and twelve images of leading Jesuits, published around 1600.[13]

Virorum doctorum effigies (1567)

The first series of portraits issued by Philips Galle is at the same time by far the most problematic. As no complete copy has been traced yet several questions remain unanswered. There are, however, enough reasons to assume that Galle, then still living and working in Haarlem, did indeed bring out such a series in 1567. This can be deduced from two facts. In the first place a substantial number of portraits from the 1572-edition of the *Virorum doctorum effigies* have been found in undeniably earlier states. The images themselves are the same, but the inscriptions in the lower margin are consistently different (*compare figs. 1 and 2*).[14] The margins of these early states always show a caption with the name of the person portrayed followed by six lines of Latin verse. The stiff, then already slightly outdated letter - always engraved as a capital - is to a large extent typical of the inscriptions on the prints Galle published before approximately 1570 (*compare fig. 3*).[15] After his departure to Antwerp in the latter year, Galle invariably chose a more modern and elegant letter as can be seen in the *Virorum doctorum effigies* of 1572. One might expect that this change took place under influence of books printed in Antwerp by such progressive publishers as Christophe Plantin.[16]

Besides this circumstantial evidence, based on visual study of separate impressions of portraits found in several printrooms, the existence of a 1567-edition is verified by a description as such by the Dutch librarian and bibliographer J.F. van Someren at the end of the nineteenth century. In his important survey of engraved portraits of Dutch citizens throughout the ages, Van Someren describes an incomplete series of portraits, issued by Philips Galle and dated 1567, as follows: "..... a collection of 31 portraits engraved by Philips Galle, lacking title and table of contents. In front of the volume an introduction was included, dated 1567 and engraved in a fine ornamental border. Here the *sculptor* informs the reader that he himself has engraved these images of scholars and men who acquired fame during the sectarian strives, and that he hopes to provide an enlarged edition in the future."[17] During his research Van Someren had come across this publication in the collection of Dr. Heinrich Wolff (1793-1875), a German physician living and working in Bonn. Besides a renowned collection of old master prints, Dr. Wolff had amassed no less than 11.000 engraved portraits. Unfortunately, no traces of these portraits nor of the 47-volume manuscript catalogue could be found.[18]

Until now Dr. Wolff's volume with 31 portraits is the only more or less complete copy of the *Virorum doctorum effigies (1567)* - as by analogy with the 1572-edition this untitled compilation will be referred to hereinafter. Apart from a large number of individual impressions, three other series with portraits from the *Virorum doctorum effigies* have been found. In those three cases 10, 11 and 12 images of reformers have respectively been bound as a set in one volume with other series of portraits published by Philips Galle.[19] All in all, 36 portraits have been traced in states which must once have been part of Philips Galle's first collection of portraits as published in 1567. Although not one of the portraits is signed, the style and technique leave no doubt to the fact that they were all engraved by Galle himself.

The absence of Galle's preface to the *Virorum doctorum effigies* - of which only the brief summary as quoted from Van Someren is available - in combination with the fact that there is no actual evidence on the genesis of this publication unfortunately leaves much room for speculation. It seems highly probable that the engraver himself, living and working in his home town Haarlem until 1570, took the initiative of bringing out such a new genre of engravings. Throughout his career Galle has shown himself to be a print publisher with a keen eye for the commercial aspects of publishing and especially for the emerging interest in new types of publications. Amongst scholars and humanists of his time - a relatively small group with many mutual contacts all over Europe - there was undeniably a growing demand for portraits of illustrious men. Through his connections with learned friends like Dirck Volckertsz. Coornhert - the famous and versatile author, moralist, philosopher and printmaker from whom the young artist had learned the art of engraving - the humanist town physician Hadrianus Junius and the painter Maarten van Heemskerck, Philips Galle was without doubt well aware of this interest. It seems obvious that he was aware of such recent, talked-about publications as Vasari's *Vite* or Giovio's *Elogia*. The popularity of such books and the fact that they were as yet published without illustrations must surely have been a source of inspiration.

But there is another possible motive that could have urged Galle to publish a series of images of famous scholars. In his introduction to the *Virorum doctorum effigies* of 1572 (which is discussed in detail below) the engraver makes an interesting statement. Here he tells the reader that for some time he has been collecting portraits of scholars, both likenesses drawn true-to-life by himself as well as portraits made by others and acquired in course of time. Not mentioning whether these were drawings, prints or paintings, Galle does proudly tell us that this collection adorns the walls of his workshop. In a classic rhetorical turn of phrase Galle continues with the words that, as a tribute to the fame of these great men, he was incited to issue an engraved equivalent of his *studiolo*, through which means the publisher could help make the features of those who had advanced the arts more familiar to the public.[20] To what extent these phrases from the *Virorum doctorum effigies (1572)* - published in Antwerp with verses by Benito Arias Montano - can be applied in interpreting the earlier 1567-edition from Haarlem is difficult to assess. It does, however, seem quite reasonable to assume that Galle had already started to collect portraits during his Haarlem period and that this interest stimulated him to publish his first series of portraits in 1567.

Galle's 'gallery of portraits' combined two time-honoured humanist traditions. In classical antiquity portraits were already collected as in the case of the Roman author and librarian Marcus Terrentius Varro who, in the first century B.C., owned at least 700 images of *viri illustres*.[21] A sixteenth-century counterpart is the *Museo* - as the famous collection of hundreds of portraits of learned men was already called during his lifetime - of the above-mentioned bishop, humanist and historian Paolo Giovio (1483-1552) in his residence in Como. This type of collection is closely related to the traditional *studiolo*, as found in several Italian Renaissance courts. By far the best known example of such a study adorned with painted portraits is the *studiolo* of Federico da Montefeltro, duke of Urbino. Built and decorated in the third quarter of the fifteenth century, the study in Urbino included *inter alia* a cycle of thirty portraits of famous scholars attributed to the Flemish painter Justus of Ghent.[22]

These Italian prototypes find their parallel in the formation of portrait galleries at universities and learned societies in northern Europe in the second half of the sixteenth century. The ear-

liest example is most probably Leipzig, where such a collection was founded shortly after the middle of the century. In the next decades other, mainly German and British, universities followed suit.[23] The first known example in the Netherlands is Leiden University, where the nucleus of such a portrait gallery was laid shortly before the turn of the century. Highly interesting in this respect is a memorandum written in 1597 by the then librarian Paulus Merula, in which he proposed to collect both painted portraits of the most illustrious Dutch writers - mentioning Erasmus, Janus Secundus and Hadrianus Junius by name - and the most important professors of the university, as well as a collection of engraved portraits of all important scholars.[24] Although written three decades after Philips Galle published his first series of portraits, Merula's notes are highly characteristic of the interest in portraits of famous scholars and, moreover, give yet another indication of the eager market for engraved representations of *uomini famosi*.

In comparison to these celebrated examples Galle's collection was of course of a more modest nature. But in its own right it is no less typical of the lively interest in the educated layers of society in having portraits of venerated humanists and scholars as a source of inspiration at hand. Very little research has been done on the taste for portraits among individual scholars in the Netherlands in the sixteenth century, but there are certainly indications that many Dutch and Flemish humanists kept several of such portraits in their study. For instance, the scholar Laevinus Torrentius - the second bishop of Antwerp, whose likeness was twice engraved in the Galle workshop - possessed several paintings of humanist friends and colleagues. Earlier in the century the same applies to Erasmus, who owned images of famous contemporaries and, moreover, on several occasions distributed portraits of himself as a token of friendship.[25] It goes without saying that engravings were extremely well suited for this purpose. An engraved portrait was relatively cheap to produce, could be printed in a sizable edition and was easy to spread among friends, colleagues and admirers. The growing popularity amongst students and scholars of the *album amicorum*, in which contributors often added drawn or engraved portraits to their verses as tokens of friendship, will also have added to the demand for such engravings. It is interesting to note that this rather sudden flourishing of the *album amicorum* in the second half of the sixteenth century in the Netherlands coincided with the equally rapid emergence of engraved series of portraits of *uomini famosi*.[26]

From the available correspondence it stands as a fact that friends of Philips Galle (like the geographer Abraham Ortels, the printer Christophe Plantin and Leiden poet and humanist Janus Dousa) did indeed send and receive portraits regularly.[27] In 1590, for example, Benito Arias Montano lets Ortels know how delighted he was in owning the latter's portrait engraved in a silver plate by Philips Galle, carrying it with him wherever he went.[28] Portraits engraved in gold or silver - of which only a few printed impressions could be pulled - became more popular in the Netherlands at the end of the sixteenth century, probably not as plates to be regularly printed but as precious tokens of friendship that could be carried like a medallion.[29] Proper engravings were of course more regularly exchanged, as two more examples from the circle of friends around Galle exemplify. In 1591 Arias Montano asks the same Ortels to thank Galle heartily for sending him his features as engraved by Hendrick Goltzius in 1582 (*compare chapter 1, fig. 1*).[30] Seven years later, accompanying one of the very few autograph letters known, Philips Galle again sends his own portrait to one of his friends, in this case to the historian Emanuel van Meteren in Middelburg.[31] It is to be assumed that this was a common practice among artists and humanists in this period.

Returning to the *Virorum doctorum effigies* of 1567 it can be concluded that there were two major traditions which could have spurred Philips Galle to issue a series of portraits. On the one hand there was the classic literary custom of eulogizing *uomini famosi*, on the other hand the widespread usage of collecting portraits of such illustrious men has to be taken in account. It is impossible to assess to what extent Galle took this initiative by himself or was, conversely, stimulated to do so by others.

In producing this series of portraits the print publisher must have had the aid of at least one poet who provided him with the laudatory verses in the margins. Although Galle probably had a reasonable command of Latin, there are no indications at all that he wrote verses in this language.[32] The identity of the author(s) of these verses remains uncertain. Tentatively, one name might here be brought to the fore, namely the Haarlem town physician, philologist, historian and poet Adriaen de Jonghe, better known as Hadrianus Junius. Galle was on friendly terms with this scholarly humanist and, in the preface to the *Virorum doctorum effigies* of 1572 for instance, called him his "friend and fellow townsman."[33] In the years that Philips Galle was active as an engraver and print publisher in Haarlem (that is to say between circa 1560 en 1570) Junius provided him with numerous verses to be engraved underneath prints designed by Maarten van Heemskerck. Thus it is not surprising to find a portrait of Junius included in the *Virorum doctorum effigies* of 1567 (*fig. 4*).[34] It is also interesting to note that the verses underneath this portrait - using the Latin "me" - are written as if the scholar himself speaks to the reader. This might be an indication that Junius composed these lines of verse himself, as he did so often for prints published by Galle. If so, the Haarlem humanist could possibly be the author of other verses in the *Virorum doctorum effigies (1567)* as well. On the other hand it should be taken into account that this form of address is a rhetorical device, frequently used to suggest that the person depicted speaks to the public directly.

This brings us to the most intriguing problem concerning the series of portraits Galle published in 1567. Is there an underlying programme determining the selection of the scholars portrayed and, if so, does it reflect the opinions of Philips Galle or any possible advisor? Sadly enough there is not much to be said with certainty. As mentioned, Galle's introduction to the series is as yet only known through Van Someren's brief summary, as quoted above. Moreover, it is completely uncertain to what extent the (lost) copy Van Someren saw in Dr. Wolff's collection was complete. If the sequence of the unnumbered engravings in this volume reflects the original intention of the publisher is yet another unsolved riddle.

On the basis of the available data some conclusions can however be drawn. There can hardly be any doubt that Galle first of all chose scholars who featured in the front ranks of the religious debates of the sixteenth century, either on behalf of the Reformation or as representatives of the Catholic Church. On the one hand portraits of such leading reformers as Calvin (*fig. 5*), Luther and Zwingli were engraved, while on the other hand the features of important representatives of the Counter-Reformation like Stanislaw Hozjusz (commonly known as Hosius) and Ruard Tapper (*fig. 6*) were included. Leaving these rather distinct spokesmen aside, it immediately leaps to the eye that Philips Galle seems to have preferred the moderate, humanist movement on both sides. Humanists like Erasmus (who despite his severe criticism stayed within the Roman Church) or Joachim Camerarius and Philippus Melanchton (*fig. 7*) - both devoted to the Reformation - represent the best of this tradition. In general the scholars chosen were men - not one woman was included in

any of Galle's series of portraits - of considerable repute. Just a few enjoyed a more local reputation, like the wandering Dutch poet and preacher Johannes Sartorius and the Antwerp humanist and city secretary Cornelius Grapheus. Both more than once had bitter conflicts with the Inquisition on account of their sympathies with the Reformation.[35]

Besides a certain inclination to humanists with moderate views on religious matters, it is, all in all, difficult to find a systematic approach in the choice of portraits Galle made. The selection is a far from systematic survey of religious thinkers. Important counter-reformers like Carlo Borromeo and the popes Paul IV and Pius VI are lacking, as are prominent reformers like Theodore de Bèze and Johannes Oecolampadius.[36] Another problem is that of the 36 portraits known to exist as part of the 1567-edition, several have no apparent connection with the religious debates in the sixteenth century. Men like Guillaume Philandrier (a versatile French humanist, philologist and architect), Gilbert Fusch (a Liège humanist and physician, also known as Philaretus), or Nicolo Tartaglia (an Italian mathematician) have not contributed in public to matters of religion nor can their works, to the best of my knowledge, be interpreted in this sense.[37]

Matters become even more complicated when one considers the following problems as well. Why has only one, probably incomplete, copy of the *Virorum doctorum effigies (1567)* been traced, while all other series of portraits issued by Galle are found in plenty?[38] Why, on the other hand, have three sets of these portraits been found only showing the features of diligent reformers? Why is it impossible to determine the exact contents of this booklet and the sequence of its portraits, while conversely his other compilations of portraits always have a fixed sequence? And, finally, why have quite a number of engravings from this edition been found in proof impressions, that is to say without the verses in the margin (*compare fig. 8*).[39]

The answers to these questions lie in the realm of speculation. It certainly seems possible that Philips Galle's *Virorum doctorum effigies (1567)* was a highly experimental type of publication that was never published in its final form. The Haarlem engraver - who had started his career as a print publisher only a few years earlier - might have been hesitant in printing a large number of such complicated illustrated books when he could not be sure of the market. One has to keep in mind that this print series was one of the first of its kind in Europe, and certainly unprecedented in the Netherlands. The existence of so many individual impressions could imply that Galle mainly printed single portraits. A buyer could then assemble a compilation to his own taste, like only choosing a dozen images of reformers.[40]

The choice of portraits Galle engraved was probably determined to a large extent by the availability of a prototype, whether a painting, drawing or a print. These either came from Galle's own collection of portraits or from the *studioli* of his humanist friends in Haarlem. That Galle - with "..... these images of scholars and men who acquired fame during the sectarian strives" as he apparently mentioned in his introduction - decided to emphasize the representatives of the religious debates is no wonder. Around 1565 the tensions of the religious and strongly related political controversies in the Netherlands were building up to reach their first climax with the infamous *Beeldenstorm* (iconoclastic fury) in August of 1566. Although Haarlem was completely spared, the upsetting news must nevertheless have been the talk of the town in these days. As a result of all the dramatic events, the Reformed Churches obtained - albeit for a short while - more freedom to preach in public in the most important Dutch and Flemish cities.[41] Given this climate a publication

like Galle's *Virorum doctorum effigies* seemed highly appropriate and was bound to arouse the interest of his contemporaries. Whatever commercial motives Philips Galle may have had in issuing his first series of portraits, the emphasis on humanists with moderate religious views certainly reflects the intellectual surroundings in which the engraver operated in Haarlem. Galle, like Maarten van Heemskerck and Dirck Volckertsz. Coornhert, always remained Catholic, but did stress the individual, ethical Christian humanism in the tradition of Erasmus.[42]

In conclusion, it may have been the growing hope for more tolerance and freedom in religious matters that urged Philips Galle to engrave and publish such a heterodox compilation of portraits of reformers, counter-reformers and Christian humanists around 1567. If Galle and his friends cherished such expectations, they were soon to be disappointed. With the arrival in 1567 of the duke of Alva as commander-in-chief of the Spanish forces and his subsequent installation as Governor of the Low Countries, severe repercussions were immediately undertaken against political and religious adversaries of Philip II. This change must have made Galle very cautious in pursuing the publication of the *Virorum doctorum effigies*, the contents of which would certainly not have been approved of by the authorities in Brussels and The Hague. In fact, the imminent danger can be exemplified with the unlucky fate of Coornhert. As a result of controversial political activities in Haarlem and due to suspicions of heresy this unorthodox notary, scholar and engraver fled from his home town in 1567, returned after a few months and was promptly imprisoned in The Hague. Temporarily released during the preliminary investigation, Coornhert fled from Holland to settle in Cologne and afterwards Xanten. By order of the duke of Alva, Coornhert was subsequently banned in 1568, while all his possessions were confiscated by the authorities.[43] This probably explains the otherwise puzzling absence of the portrait of Galle's former master and spiritual mentor in the *Virorum doctorum effigies* of 1567. Is it too speculative to assume that the arrest of Coornhert, even more than possible commercial hesitations, made Galle seriously reconsider the risks of issuing his yet unfinished, but potentially dangerous publication? Probably not, as this would at least help to explain the intriguing absence of any complete series in contrast to the comparatively large number of individual impressions of portraits and it might also help us to understand why Philips Galle took up this project in a different way once he had settled in Antwerp.

Virorum doctorum effigies (1572)

In 1569 or 1570, the year in which the engraver is first mentioned in the records of the guild of St. Luke, Philips Galle arrived in Antwerp.[44] He was granted the burghership in July of the following year and immediately started to print an astonishing number of individual prints, series of prints and illustrated books. Among the very first works Galle published in Antwerp were two large series of portraits, indicating that the genre was very dear to him and that he must have held high hopes on its commercial success.

Besides a revised and enlarged edition of the *Virorum doctorum effigies* - which will be discussed in detail below - Galle issued an illustrated book in 1572 with 27 engraved portraits of Renaissance popes entitled *Pontificum maximorum XXVII effigies*.[45] This overview of all the popes from Urban VI (1378-89) up to and including Pius V, who died in the same year Galle published his book, was far from an original undertaking. In 1568 the Roman print publisher Antonio Lafreri

had published a similar series under the slightly different title *XXVII Pontificorum maximorum*, presenting the features of 27 popes, engraved by Philippe du Soye, with laudatory texts on their deeds in letterpress. The author and compiler was the Veronese monk and scholar Onofrio Panvinio (1529-1568), and the portraits were mostly copied after paintings in the Vatican. Galle stuck very closely to the Italian prototype, copying the portraits in reverse and even literally reprinting Panvinio's introduction with the date 1568 (*compare figs. 9 and 10*).[46] Whether Galle had obtained permission from ecclesiastical authorities for this reissue is doubtful, as the *approbatio* - the approval by the clerical *censor* usually required for such publications - is lacking in the few copies of the book found so far. However, the chaotic political and religious situation in Antwerp in these years had effectively undermined the powers of the diocese and this may have made Galle feel easier about publishing his series of popes without official permission.[47]

Judging by his own brief introduction, Galle was content with his *Pontificum maximorum effigies*. The publisher, addressing himself to those who are well versed in the arts or in history, hopes that the public will like his adaptations of the Roman prototype. If so, Galle continues, he hopes to produce more such publications which are not only graceful and useful, but also new of their kind.[48] One wonders here if he was hinting specifically at plans for publishing further portrait series, or was just making a more general, rhetorical remark. Whatever the case may be, Philips Galle did indeed publish another, far more original and important compilation of portraits in the same year: a completely revised edition of the *Virorum doctorum effigies*. In stark contrast to the first edition of 1567, there are no uncertainties about the structure of the *Virorum doctorum effigies* Galle issued in 1572. In all known copies of the book - at this point two dozen in public collections - the contents and the sequence of the portraits are the same.[49] The rather elaborate, two-page Latin introduction Galle wrote to this work also provides us with valuable information.

Galle must have started printing the book in the winter of 1572, as the dated introduction mentions. Having started in February, Galle must have finished printing in May. In this month the first orders for the *Virorum doctorum effigies* and for the *Pontificum maximorum effigies* are mentioned in the *journaux*, as the daily business reports were called, of the Plantin Press. According to their detailed archives, Christophe Plantin and his successors proved themselves to be important customers. For decades to come the *Officina Plantiniana* bought '*Effigies*' - 'portraits' as they were simply called, often without specifying from which edition - produced by Galle, sometimes up to 15 copies at a time.[50] As mentioned above, the widespread international contacts of Plantin were of invaluable importance in distributing the *Virorum doctorum effigies* throughout Europe. One can, for instance, find Galle's collections of portraits in the earliest stock list of a Dutch publisher known so far. In 1603/04 the Amsterdam map and book publisher Cornelis Claesz. issued a list of books, prints and maps he had for sale. Listed among the large number of prints and print series published by Philips Galle are both the *Virorum doctorum effigies* of 1572 and the *Imagines doctorum virorum* of 1587.[51] This is characteristic of the rapid international distribution of such print series and can also help to account for the large number of complete books and individual portraits that have survived in public collections.

The new and revised compilation of portraits (all of which are engraved by Galle himself) consists of an engraved title page (*fig. 11*), a table of contents with the *approbatio* in letterpress and the two-page letterpress preface by Galle, followed by 44 numbered images of learned men accom-

panied by four lines of Latin verse.[52] For no apparent reason there are two versions of the *Virorum doctorum effigies*, which only differ regarding these inscriptions underneath the portraits. The chronologically first version - here referred to as the 1572a-edition - shows all inscriptions printed in letterpress, while the second (the 1572b-edition) has nearly identical inscriptions engraved in the copperplate (*compare figs. 12 and 13*).[53] Why Philips Galle initially chose to set the inscriptions in letterpress is easy to understand. The engraver reused at least 25 portraits from the earlier *Virorum doctorum effigies* of 1567, all of which were to be provided with the new verses by Benito Arias Montano. Instead of erasing all the existent inscriptions in the copperplates and then engraving the new ones in their place, Galle decided to do things in an easier way. When printing a new run of a portrait through a (copperplate) press, he covered the lower margin of the copperplate with a piece of paper, also known as a *cache-lettre*.[54] In doing so, Galle could print engravings with blank margins. The new verses were subsequently set in letterpress and printed on a separate printing press. As these presses were very expensive, Galle always put out this job to specialised printers. In most cases Christophe Plantin did this work for his friend, although it could be not verified for the *Virorum doctorum effigies*.[55]

The above trick with the *cache-lettre* shows itself in several ways. In the first place, some impressions have been printed so carelessly that the *cache-lettre* does not cover the entire text and shows a small edge of the former 1567-inscriptions. In other cases the *cache-lettre* has been cut so sloppy that a strange, irregular borderline is visible directly underneath the image (*compare fig. 14*). Finally, all engravings of this 1572a-edition clearly have two platemarks visible in the lower margin of the paper. One can see (and feel) the edge of the original copperplate as a thin grey contour running halfway through the inscription. The edge of the *cache-lettre* directly below the portrait pressed another (very faint) borderline in the paper when the prints were pulled through the press under high pressure. Why Galle in the end was dissatisfied with these inscriptions in letterpress and at what date he issued the new 1572b-version with engraved verses, is unclear. The tedious task of excising all old inscriptions and engraving the new ones, may have been undertaken to avoid further costs outside Galle's own workshop. Moreover, the publisher's urge to remain as independent of others as possible is discernible throughout his career and might have been a stimulus in this case as well.[56] One other possible explanation might also be that Galle reprinted the *Virorum doctorum effigies* of 1572 at the occasion of issuing his third series of portraits, the *Imagines doctorum virorum* first published in 1587 and discussed in detail below. This series was explicitly intended as a supplement to the *Virorum doctorum effigies* of 1572. The print publisher could thus, around 1587, have decided to reprint his earlier series and bring it in accordance with his new compilation of portraits which had all inscriptions underneath the portrait engraved in the copperplate. In this way Galle could present his customers with two more or less homogeneous series that could be bound together in one volume.[57]

After scrutinizing the technical aspects of producing the *Virorum doctorum effigies (1572)*, it might be interesting to have a closer look at its contents, using Galle's Latin introduction as a guiding principle.[58] The preface is addressed to all those who are inclined to the arts. He himself has always recognized, so the engraver continues, the importance of commemorating those illustrious men who had advanced the *bonae artes* - a term probably referring to a combination of the fine arts and the liberal arts - by their talents and their learning. Galle proudly goes on reporting that his own collection of portraits of such illustrious men was set up in remembrance of scholars he had

met, spoken to and portrayed in person. Furthermore, so he continues, he has collected representations of those he had not been able to meet himself and has hung these in his workshop. As a tribute to the fame of these savants and as a service to their friends, relatives and acquaintances Galle felt urged to publish a selection of his portrait gallery. Something, as is shown above, that may already have happened in Haarlem in 1567. For the present edition Galle had, as he informs us, asked the scholar Benito Arias Montano to adorn each portrait with a pair of distiches. The portrait of Arias Montano himself was also included, engraved after Pieter Pourbus, with verses by Galle's friend and former townsman Hadrianus Junius (*fig. 15*).[59]

Furthermore, the publisher lets the reader know that he is planning to issue a second book with portraits of famous scholars. He asks anybody who owns (any kind of) images of celebrities lacking in the volume at hand to send these either to the geographer Abraham Ortels or to Christophe Plantin, and thus help him in compiling a supplement volume. That this indeed happened, is shown by an interesting letter written in 1575 by the Italian humanist Francesco Ciceri and addressed to Plantin. After trying, in vain, to persuade the Antwerp printer to publish one of his manuscripts, he mentions that he has seen the 1572-volume of portraits by Philips Galle, whom he calls an excellent draughtsman and engraver. In this collection, though, he misses the likeness of the Dutch Hubert van Giffen - a humanist and jurist born in Buren and also known as Hubertus Giphanius - to whom scholars, so Ciceri continues, owe so much knowledge on the works of the Roman author Lucretius.[60] Although Galle did not follow Ciceri's advice to include Van Giffen's portrait - perhaps because the Italian did not supply him with a portrait or, even more probably, due to Van Giffen's bad reputation amongst several of Galle's humanist friends - it must have been this kind of letters that Galle, Ortels and Plantin were hoping to receive.[61]

Although, as said, no less than 25 portraits from the *Virorum doctorum effigies* of 1567 were reused, the character of the second portrait series is rather different. It is not focused, as was the earlier edition, on matters of religion. The *Virorum doctorum effigies* of 1572 aims at providing the contemporary reader a selection of the foremost humanists and scholars of his own time. The volume is dedicated to their fame and the immortality of their learning as Galle mentions in his introduction. His words are visually repeated in the iconography of the title page (*fig. 11*).[62] Two female personifications hold a banderole with the inscription "SAPIENTIAE HOMINUM CULTRICI P.", referring to the everlasting memory of human wisdom. The winged woman to the right is *Fama*, the traditional representation of fame. She holds the two trumpets with which she can herald, as necessary, either someone's good or bad reputation. There is, of course, little doubt which trumpet she will blow for the selected savants. Her dress is adorned with eyes and ears, symbolizing the way reputations are spread. Behind *Fama*, in the background, a triumphal arch alludes to the commemoration of the great. More obscure is the meaning of the woman at the left. She is standing on a celestial globe (probably referring to heavenly fame) and wears a bangle around her right arm, a perfect circle representing eternity. The obelisk behind her might also be a mark of heaven, as in the Renaissance hieroglyphs on obelisks were often considered to be coded words of divine wisdom. If this interpretation is correct, Galle's title page shows the two aspects of fame: on the right side the mortal renown and memory on earth and on the left the eternal fame mortals may acquire.

Religious views were not of primary importance in the selection of the *Virorum doctorum effigies*, as both Protestants and Catholics are represented, although in comparison to the 1567-

edition the most diligent reformers like Hus, Luther, Calvin and Zwingli have been omitted.[63] Besides a small group of Italian poets (Petrarca, Dante, Boccaccio), Galle mainly added Netherlandish humanists from the circle of Plantin, like the philologist Goropius Becanus (at one time financial partner of Plantin), the botanist Rembert Dodoens (whose most important studies after 1563 were published by the Plantin Press), the scholar Theodoor Poelman (who collaborated with the Antwerp printer as an editor of Latin texts), as well as Benito Arias Montano and Abraham Ortels, both close friends of Plantin and Philips Galle. In fact, the *Virorum doctorum effigies* of 1572 nearly reads as an illustrated list of scholars who either had worked on behalf of Plantin - whose features are obviously also included (*fig. 16*) - or had their works (in some cases posthumously) printed on his presses.[64] The portraits of the scholars Junius and Janus Dousa also show that Galle had not lost sight of his previous intellectual surroundings in the Northern Netherlands.

The portraits themselves are simply grouped according to nationality.[65] The first five in the row, however, are Catholic prelates, starting with two popes: Adrian VI - the Dutch humanist who in the less than two years of his pontificate tried to initiate church reform - and Pius II, the Italian poet and humanist also known as Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini. Then follow three cardinals: the Italian poet Pietro Bembo, the Polish theologian Stanislaw Hozjusz and John Fisher, the English cardinal who was a friend of Erasmus and was beheaded by King Henry VIII. Directly following Fisher is another English humanist and Catholic martyr, Thomas More. After England follows Spain, represented by Arias Montano and the versatile humanist Juan Luis Vives, who like Arias Montano spent several years in Flanders and died in Bruges. Desiderius Erasmus, who was a friend of Fisher, More and Vives, commences a long row of Netherlandish humanists and scholars from the sixteenth century ending with the above mentioned Theodoor Poelman. Living in Antwerp, but born in a town on the border between Germany and the Dutch province of Gelderland, Poelman also appropriately begins the German section, including such names as the humanist and diplomat Willibald Pirckheimer and the Protestant theologian Joachim Camerarius. That the Italian botanist Pietro Andrea Mattioli stands among his German colleagues is probably because, like the preceding Wolfgang Lazius, he was employed as a physician at the court of the Holy Roman Emperor. The following section then moves southward, showing the portraits of four French humanists, including Plantin (who was born near Tours) and the poet Clément Marot, who was often suspected of heterodoxy and whose translations of the psalms were very much in favour with the Protestants. Even more south the row ends with a heterogeneous company of nine Italian *uomini famosi*, including such diverse names as Dante, Savonarola and Andrea Alciati. Arias Montano's verses below the portraits are of a general laudatory nature, as are the verses in the earlier edition of 1567. In most cases the erudition of the scholar portrayed is widely praised and allusions are made to the specific nature of his learning. If specific works are named, it is often done with a pun. Rarely any mention is made of the religious convictions or political viewpoints of the sitters.[66]

This finally leads to the following questions. To what extent was the *Virorum doctorum effigies* of 1572 a revision or a continuation of the earlier edition published in Haarlem? Do the differences between the two reflect the move Galle made from Haarlem to Antwerp and thus reflect a change of intellectual surroundings in which the print publisher operated? And if so, who in Antwerp influenced Galle in the selection of his second series of portraits of illustrious scholars?

As said, Galle's Antwerp collection of portraits does not, as its Haarlem counterpart, emphasize the religious debate between the Catholics and the Protestants. In spite of that, the stress on moderate Christian humanists, already so discernible in the 1567-edition, is even stronger than before. The criteria of selection might even be called Erasmian in spirit, with a marked preference for humanists concerned with Christian ethics.[67] This is consistent with what is known of Galle's religious views. Although Galle formally was (and always remained) a Roman Catholic, he was far from orthodox in his opinions and in particular stressed the importance of a responsible ethical conduct of every Christian. In Haarlem these notions were most probably influenced by such friends as Maarten van Heemskerck and especially Coornhert. Once in Antwerp, Galle soon became a family friend of Plantin and a member of his informal circle of humanist friends. There is hardly any doubt that through Plantin Galle learned about the spiritualist movement *Huis der Liefde* ('The Family of Love'), with which, amongst others, Arias Montano and Ortels sympathized.[68] These contacts and the sharp religious conflicts in Antwerp - though in name Catholic, around 1572 possibly the city with the largest number of Calvinists - must have made Galle even more aware of his own religious opinions.[69] Seen in this light and keeping the collaboration with Arias Montano (as poet of the verses) and Plantin (probably the printer of all letterpress inscriptions and with Ortels the postal address for new portraits) in mind, it is plausible to assume that the emphasis on the Erasmian tradition of Christian humanism and tolerance was deliberately chosen. In doing so, Galle's selection of portraits in the *Virorum doctorum effigies* certainly reflects the hopes many scholars and humanists in the Netherlands had on religious tolerance and moderation at a time when the parties were drifting more and more apart.[70] By the time Galle issued his third series of prints in 1587, these high hopes had proven to be in vain. The duke of Farnese had taken Antwerp on behalf of the Spanish king and the Counter-Reformation had immediately set foot in Flanders and Brabant, while the Calvinists had strengthened their positions in the Northern Netherlands.

Imagines doctorum virorum (1587)

Fifteen years after Philips Galle had announced to the readers of the *Virorum doctorum effigies* of 1572 that he would issue a complementary volume with portraits of famous scholars, the Antwerp print publisher indeed fulfilled his promise. In 1587 Galle brought the *Imagines doctorum virorum* on the market, a compilation of 50 engraved portraits, preceded by a title page (*fig. 17*), a one-page letterpress introduction and a table of contents, also set in letterpress. This series is clearly a supplement to the 1572-edition, as the introduction mentions. None of the portraits in the 1572-series were re-used, and only two portraits in the 1587-volume were originally part of the 1567-series. In the margins of those two portraits the traces of the older inscriptions are still clearly visible underneath the newly engraved verses (*compare figs. 18 and 19*).[71] All the inscriptions in the lower margins were immediately engraved and not, as in 1572, first set in letterpress. In style and technique the portraits compare very well to the earlier series and thus, although unsigned, were most probably engraved by Philips Galle himself.

Arias Montano had long left Antwerp and was back in Spain, working in El Escorial, and the verses were now composed by Frans van Ravelingen, also known as Raphelengius. This erudite scholar - well versed in Latin, Greek, Hebrew and a score of other ancient and modern languages -

was the chief proofreader at the Plantin Press and, since 1565, son-in-law of the Antwerp printer. His verses follow the pattern of Arias Montano's earlier lines: two Latin distiches, elegantly composed and praising the scholar portrayed in generous, albeit general terms. Ravelingen, who also wrote the short introduction to the portrait series, may have written (a part of?) the verses in Leiden. At the beginning of 1586 the Calvinist Ravelingen had left Antwerp to settle down in Holland. He became a professor of Hebrew at the university of Leiden and took charge of the branch of the *Officina Plantiniana* in the same city.[72]

The introduction by Ravelingen is dated the first of August 1587, when he was already living in Leiden for some time. However, work on the verses could have been started long before, as Galle had already indicated in 1572 that he was planning to publish this volume. The siege and subsequent fall of Antwerp in 1585 could well have caused a considerable delay in engraving, printing and publishing the *Imagines doctorum virorum*. Unfortunately there is virtually no information on the time it took a print publisher in the late sixteenth century to produce such a work. One may expect that putting together a volume of 50 engravings was a time-consuming job even for such an experienced workshop as that of Philips Galle. Although produced much earlier and in a different part of Europe, one might perhaps compare Galle's undertaking to the comparable and well documented efforts by the Roman printmaker Giovanni Giacomo de Rossi. This practised publisher in 1658 issued a volume with 70 etched, small-sized portraits of cardinals. This 'low cost' project was a rush job in order to profit from a papal privilege as long as possible. Nevertheless it took De Rossi, from the very beginning, a year and a half to see his *Effigies nomina et cognomina* ..... through the press.[73]

There are, fortunately, also some documents which shed more light on the genesis of Philips Galle's *Imagines doctorum virorum* of 1587. In several letters to the humanist and physician Johannes Crato the Antwerp geographer Abraham Ortels - who was mentioned in the 1572-volume as an intermediary for additional portraits - discusses his efforts in persuading Galle to engrave the likeness of Crato and to include it in the forthcoming volume of portraits. These letters - published in the nineteenth century, but never interpreted in the light of Galle's series of portraits - shed a fascinating light on the patience scholars apparently had to exercise before they saw their portrait published by Galle[74] In this case it all started in December 1572, when Ortels thanks his friend for sending a portrait of himself. As can be gathered from another letter this probably refers to a pen drawing by Martino Rota, an Italian printmaker who, like Johannes Crato himself, worked in service of the imperial Habsburg court in Vienna.[75] In an undated letter, written somewhere in the fall of 1573, Ortels writes Crato that his portrait could perhaps be used for the 'second volume' and that he had asked Philips Galle to engrave it himself. This was difficult as Galle, so Ortels continues, is extremely busy and leaves a lot of work to be engraved by his assistants. As a tribute to his friendship with Ortels, the engraver has, nevertheless, indeed incised Crato's portrait with his own hands.[76] In November of the same year Ortels again writes Crato to inform him that he will soon receive an (proof?)impression of Galle's engraving. At the same time he has given Rota's drawing of Crato to Philips Galle who could use it, if necessary, to 'correct' the engraved features of the humanist. As yet, Ortels is not sure when the Antwerp printmaker will be able to finish his work on the promised supplement volume.[77] In February 1576, three years later, Ortels again mentions the project in a letter. Looking at Crato's features - apparently at the moment Galle had returned Rota's drawing to

its rightful owner - Ortels is reminded of the promised supplement volume of portraits, but admits he has lost hope: the prolific Philips Galle is much too occupied with other activities.[78] In 1582 Ortels has better news. Galle has promised that the volume will appear before long. Of course he will send the volume as soon as it has been printed.[79] Ortels's hopes once more were in vain. In two letters written in the summer of 1583 - which seem to have crossed each other - both Ortels and Crato complain to one another about the course of events. Ortels is clearly irritated by the unremitting promises of his friend: "Galle always says that he will publish his famous scholars tomorrow and tomorrow, but I don't know which tomorrow."[80] Around the same time Crato is slightly angered by the conduct of Ortels. From a mutual friend - the botanist Charles de l'Escluse whose portrait is also included in the *Imagines doctorum virorum* of 1587 - he had got the (wrong) impression that the volume had at last been finished. Crato is clearly disappointed that his old friend Ortels has not broken this news himself and has not sent him a copy yet. Although he looks forward to see the results of Galle's efforts, Crato goes on in somewhat wistful words, for he thinks poorly of fame which is derived from a picture. It is, in contrast, the hope for immortality of his soul after life on earth which really excites him.[81] These were prophetic words, as Crato (who died in 1585) would not live to see his portrait published by Galle (*compare fig. 20*).

As mentioned, the *Imagines doctorum virorum* had from the very first been intended as a supplement to the earlier series of 1572. Again a choice company of scholars from all over Europe is presented to the readers. On this occasion, however, they are not organized by nationality but more or less according to their occupations. First of all, the great scholastic Thomas ab Aquino - declared Doctor of the Church in 1567 - is depicted, as if he were presiding the 'gathering' and controlling the truth of the theological views of those present. The Italian saint is appropriately followed by four scholarly prelates: the Italian theologian Jacopo Sadoleto, secretary to various popes and one of the initiators of the Council of Trent, the humanist cardinal Francesco Jimenez de Cisneros, a friend of Erasmus, the new Antwerp bishop Laevinus Torrentius, a friend of Plantin's who was appointed in 1586 and consecrated in 1587 (*fig. 21*), and finally the Polish poet and bishop Johannes Dantiscus, perhaps chosen as he had at one time been a diplomat in the Netherlands. The next group is rather heterogeneous. It consists of eight humanists, mainly priests, whose writings concentrate on Christian morals and ethics. The one notable exception in this group is the Dutch jurist Viglius van Aytta van Zwichem, a widely respected diplomat and statesman. The reason why he is not listed with the other jurists is unclear, but it might be due to his moderating role in the political and religious conflicts during the first decades of the Dutch Revolt. Others in this section are: the Liège canon and philologist Charles de Langhe, the Spanish canonist and moralist Martinus ab Azpilcueta, the Delft rector and poet Cornelis Muys and the young Antwerp Jesuit theologian Andreas Schott. Although most of these versatile scholars could easily have been classified under other categories as well, they seem to have been grouped together on account of their involvement with religious issues. Unfortunately, the rather general nature of the verses does not provide more information in this respect.

The row of portraits then continues with a more clearly defined category, namely 14 jurists from the late Middle Ages onwards. Starting with the fourteenth-century glossator Bartolo da Sassoferrato and subsequently emphasizing now completely forgotten Italian Renaissance scholars of law, this part of the selection ends with such contemporary jurists as the French counsellor to

the royal court André Tiraqueau, the German imperial advisor Georg Eder and the Flemish jurist and counsellor to the Spanish Crown Joost de Damhoudere. The number of jurists in the *Imagines doctorum virorum* of 1587 is notable. In 1566 the above print publisher Antonio Lafreri had published the perhaps very first compilation of portraits of scholars, entitled *Illustrium iureconsultorum imagines*.[82] The first edition of this noteworthy publication contains 26 images of Italian Renaissance jurists, all copied from portraits in the collection of the Padovese professor of law Marco Mantova Benavides. In comparing these two, it is interesting to note that Galle's 1587-series not only includes a portrait of Benavides (*fig. 22*), but also no less than 11 engravings of jurists found in Lafreri's book.[83] One would thus expect Galle to have used such a highly specialized collection of portraits. The Antwerp printmaker does, however, not seem to have made use of Lafreri's *Illustrium iureconsultorum imagines* at all, as in all cases the features of the scholars portrayed show marked differences. In some cases the similarities are close enough to assume that Galle and Lafreri used the same prototype (*compare figs. 23 and 24*), in other instances the portraits could not be more unlike each other (*compare figs. 25 and 26*). One wonders if in this instance Philips Galle, as a result of his appeal for portraits to his readers in 1572, had received access to one particular collection of portraits, perhaps, as in the case of Benavides, in the possession of a scholar in law.

Returning once more to the classification of Galle's *Imagines doctorum virorum* of 1587, the jurists are followed by a handful of botanists and physicians, amongst them Charles de l'Escluse, also known as Clusius. With the scholarly Danish statesman and diplomat Henrik Rantzau - whose reputed learning in such diverse fields as medicine, astronomy and classical antiquity can, like in the case of so many other Renaissance humanists, hardly be classified under one heading - begins yet another section, namely those scholars who had made name in the sphere of classical literature. Represented are the Venetian printers Aldo and Paolo Manuzio - the father and son whose exemplary editions of Greek and Latin texts were renowned all over Europe - and scholars like Beatus Rhenanus and Francesco Griffolini. One might assume that here the influence of Frans van Ravelingen, himself so well-versed in this respect, is felt. Hereafter follow scholars in geography and astronomy (Aventinus, Mercator, Münster), zoology (Belon) and history (Damiao de Gois, Stoeffler and Furio y Ceriol). The row ends with six poets: the Dutch poet Janus Secundus, the Italians Ludovico Ariosto, Pandolfo Collenuccio and Jacopo Sannazaro, the German Paulus Melissus and finally the French jurist, diplomat and poet François de Monceaux.

In comparison to the *Virorum doctorum effigies* of 1572, the supplementary 1587-series is of a slightly different nature. In the first place, the selection is broader and certainly more international. The smaller number of Netherlandish *uomini famosi* does probably not, however, imply a deliberate choice. The most obvious fellow-countrymen - whose portraits were much easier to acquire - had already been included in the earlier series. It evidently cost Philips Galle much more time to assemble an equal collection of foreign savants, hence his appeal for portraits in the 1572-series and the long time it took before he could publish the promised additions. The second difference between the two volumes seems to be more intentional. Where the *Virorum doctorum effigies* of 1572 is, as shown above, distinctively Erasmian of spirit in its choice of scholars, the selection of portraits in the *Imagines doctorum virorum* of 1587 is far more neutral. Although such humanists as Dantiscus, Jimenez de Cisneros, Muys or Hortensius would not have been out of place in the 1572-series, most of their colleagues in the 1587-edition seem to have been chosen solely on account of their learn-

ing and fame as scholars, and not as a result of sympathy with their ethical or tolerant religious views. The historical survey of Italian jurists exemplifies this change of attitude. One wonders if there is any connection with the changes in the religious and political situation between 1572 and 1587. The so-called Dutch Revolt was well on its way, that is to say the northern and southern parts of the Netherlands were now inevitably drifting apart. Two different states with (at least officially) two different religions were emerging. All the hopes Galle, Plantin and their friends could have had in a more tolerant society must have been shattered definitively after the death of William of Orange in 1584 and the siege and fall of Antwerp in 1585. Although by then Galle's work on the *Imagines doctorum virorum* must have been in progress for some time, the changed principles on which it was based seem to reflect, in one way or another, the dramatic changes in Antwerp society as experienced by a small humanist circle of friends.[84]

The *Imagines doctorum virorum* of 1587 was published in a sizable edition, judging by the number of copies found in libraries today. In 1595 and 1606 Philips Galle reissued the same series with some slight changes.[85] These reprints - which as a matter of fact are nowadays much rarer than the first edition of 1587 - show that the Galle workshop continued to find a market for such series of portraits. This is confirmed by some other works Philips Galle and his son Theodoor issued round the turn of the century.

Cardinals and Jesuits (1598)

Before examining the fourth and last volume of portraits of scholars that Galle published in 1604, it might be interesting to pay some attention to two earlier, related series: the *Cardinalium illustrium imagines*, published in 1598 and consisting of a title page with a portrait of Albert of Austria (*fig. 27*), twelve images of famous Renaissance cardinals and a portrait of Pope Adrian VI, and the undated *Societatis Iesu* - probably issued around 1600 - which contains a title page (*fig. 28*), an engraving of kings and prelates adoring the IHS monogram and the engraved features of 10 illustrious representatives of the newly founded Order of Jesuits.[86]

On the title page of the *Cardinalium illustrium imagines* Philips Galle's eldest son Theodoor is explicitly mentioned as engraver. This is not entirely true. Of the 13 portraits included - not counting the medallion with Albert of Austria on the title page - six were simply taken from the earlier portrait series, all of which were engraved by Philips Galle himself. The remaining seven portraits and the title page can thus be safely attributed to his son Theodoor.[87] The hardly distinguishable style and technique of father and son once more show to what extent Galle had reached a uniform quality of production in his workshop.

It is, moreover, interesting to note that Galle dedicated this work to Albert of Austria, archduke of Austria. This son of emperor Maximilian II is here, perhaps for the very last time, portrayed as a cardinal. In 1577, scarcely 18 years old, Albert was bestowed with the honours of this title. After being appointed as viceroy of the Southern Netherlands on behalf of the Spanish Crown in 1596, Albert asked and received papal permission to laicize and marry Isabella Clara Eugenia, daughter of Philip II. This was finally settled in 1599.

All engravings in the *Cardinalium illustrium imagines* follow the pattern of the preceding portrait series, that is to say showing a half length portrait with a caption and four lines of Latin

verse engraved in the lower margin. In contrast to those earlier works, Galle here added, next to every engraving, a more elaborate letterpress text expanding on the virtues of the person portrayed. Although his name is not mentioned, it has been assumed with good reasons that the Antwerp Jesuit Andreas Schott (*fig. 29*) must have been the author of these explanatory texts and that he was also most probably involved in the compilation of the volume.[88] The *Cardinalium illustrium imagines* is a rather haphazard collection of illustrious cardinals from, leaving two exceptions (Albornoz and Bessarion) aside, the sixteenth century. Some had acquired fame on account of their military actions (ecclesiastical warlords like Egidio Alvarez de Albornoz (*fig. 30*) and Pompeo Colonna), others were renowned scholars (such as Guglielmo Sirleto, head of the Vatican libraries), while yet others may have been selected because of their exemplary faith, as in the case of the devout counter-reformer Carlo Borromeo, sanctified in 1601, or the English cardinal John Fisher, beheaded on account of his opposition to the religious policy of Henry VIII.

In contrast to his earlier series, Galle's *Cardinalium illustrium imagines* primarily has a didactic aim: presenting the (Catholic) readers with some of the most noteworthy and exemplary representants of their faith. This approach will certainly have been stimulated by Galle's collaborator Andreas Schott. As a member of the Jesuit Order, which had immediately returned to Antwerp after the fall of the city in 1585, Schott was bound to be very much aware of the importance (illustrated) books and prints could have in spreading the ideals of the Counter-Reformation. Within two decades Jesuit authors dominated the genre of illustrated theological books produced in Antwerp and used it very effectively to propagandize the Catholic faith.[89] From this point of view it is not strange to find Philips Galle publishing, somewhere around 1600, his *Societatis Iesu*, only containing portraits of Jesuits.

Next to nothing can be said with certainty about this last collection of portraits. The series is undated, unsigned and unnumbered. An *approbatio* and a table of contents are lacking and, furthermore, only a few incomplete copies of the series have been found so far. The portraits are certainly not engraved by Philips Galle, who stopped engraving himself around 1590, but show the slightly finer lines of the burin and the more tonal effects characteristic of workshop assistants such as his son Cornelis Galle and his son-in-law Karel de Mallery (*compare fig. 31*).[90] Although undated, a year *post quam* can be given. The inscriptions in the margins of the portraits of the French martyrs Guilielmus Saltamochius and Jacob Salesius mention the date 1593, the year in which the two were murdered by the Huguenots in the Auvergne.

The iconography of the *Societatis Iesu* is so specific, that the question might raised if Philips Galle issued this series on request. The Order of Jesuits was very much in favour with secular and religious authorities in the Southern Netherlands and, more in particular, in Antwerp. Its rapidly gaining influence and its strongly rising popularity with the faithful must certainly have created the need of establishing an equivalent of the established iconographic traditions of the much older orders like the Franciscans and the Dominicans. The fact that the title page is dedicated to Claudio Acquaviva, the reigning General of the Order until his death in 1615, indicates that the *Societatis Iesu* was at least conceived under patronage of the Order, and it seems quite possible that the whole series was initiated and compiled by one of the Antwerp Jesuits (Andreas Schott?) as part of their propaganda in the fierce competition for public favour between the different old and new orders active in the city on the Scheldt.[91]

Whatever part Philips Galle may have played in initiating publications such as *Cardinalium illustrium imagines* and *Societatis Iesu*, it clearly shows that the Antwerp printmaker had gone a long way since he first issued a series of portraits in 1567. Whether Galle was responding to the changed public demand, was adapting the iconography to a completely changed political and religious climate or whether his own religious perceptions had changed over the years, the result was striking. In thirty years time the nature of the portrait series published by his workshop had made a volte-face. Necessarily so, as his Jesuit patrons of the above series would strongly have disapproved of the heterodox ensemble of humanists so prominent in the *Virorum doctorum effigies* of 1567 and 1572. That the change in Galle's production of portraits was not incidental can be shown by examining his fourth and final series of famous scholars, published in 1604. Before that, however, it is no less interesting to consider some unknown portraits of Greek and Italian scholars published by Galle's eldest son Theodoor in 1599 and 1600.

Theodoor Galle's collections of Greek and Italian scholars (1599/1600)

Shortly after his return from a long sojourn in Italy and his subsequent marriage to Catherina Moretus - eldest daughter of Jan Moretus and Martina Plantin - in 1598, Theodoor Galle started publishing prints on his own account. The very first major series he issued, was an extensively illustrated volume of ancient 'portraits', engraved after the famous collection of coins assembled by the Roman librarian and scholar Fulvio Orsini.[92] Apparently inspired by his father's pronounced interest in engraving and publishing portraits of scholars, Theodoor hereinafter immediately issued, in collaboration with the Plantin Press, two other highly innovative works that were closely related to those earlier series produced by Philips Galle.

The first is a single broadsheet engraving, entitled *Icones et elogia novem Graecorum illustrium* (Portraits and eulogies of nine famous Greeks) and dated 1599 (*fig. 32*). The engraving is signed by Theodoor Galle, who explicitly mentions himself as the son of his well-known father ("Theodorus Gallaeus Phil. F. a se sculptas icones ....."), while the letterpress text surrounding the nine portraits was set and printed under supervision of his father-in-law Jan Moretus.[93] As the inscriptions inform the reader, the images chosen are those of Greek scholars who had helped to advance the knowledge of (ancient) Greek literature in Italy during and after the fall of Constantinople. Included are such scholars as the humanist cardinal Bessarion (a former prelate of the Greek Orthodox Church), Demetrius Chalcondyles (a professor of Greek at Florence), Emanuel Chrysolaras (a Byzantine schoolmaster who lectured in Florence fifty years before the fall of Constantinople) and the Byzantine emigrant and follower of Aristotle, Theodore of Gaza.[94] Most of the laudatory verses included in the margins were apparently taken from one of the many editions of Paolo Giovio's *Elogia*.

It is not only interesting to see that Theodoor Galle followed in his father's footsteps, but even more so to notice that he emphatically dedicated the print to the Order of the Jesuits. The younger Galle reminds his reader of the fact that it were, in fact, the Jesuit preachers who in their schools strived to combine the knowledge of Greek and Latin with the teachings of Christ.[95] Given the fact that no less than 750 copies were printed of this (now very rare) engraving, Theodoor Galle may actually have had students at such Jesuit colleges in mind when publishing this large, single-sheet collection of Greek scholars.[96]

If publishing the *Icones et elogia novem Graecorum illustrium* in such large numbers was a success is unknown. But it is a fact that only year later Theodoor Galle again published a compilation of 25 portraits, now devoted to Italian savants. This extremely rare book (as yet only one complete copy is known) is entitled *Italorum doctrina illustrium imagines* (Portraits of Italians famous on account of their learning, *fig. 33*). As in the case of the Greek scholars, this series of portraits was yet again typeset, printed and co-published by Jan Moretus.[97] Philips Galle must also have been closely involved in this novel enterprise of his son. Not only is the father referred to in general on the title page - "A work by Theodoor Galle, son of Philips in Antwerp" - but he is also specifically mentioned as engraver of the copperplates.[98]

The *Italorum doctrina illustrium imagines* is, in fact, a combination of 15 existing plates from Philips Galle's 1572b- and 1587-editions, together with 10 newly incised portraits. Thus, one can find Galle's 1572-engraving of the humanist Pope Pius II (*fig. 34*), together with his 1587-portrait of the Hellenist Francesco Griffolini (*fig. 35*) and a new addition such as the likeness of the Florentine scholar and collector of manuscripts Gian Francesco Poggio Bracciolini (*fig. 36*). If, in spite of the words on the title page, the ten additional portraits are indeed engraved by Philips Galle is rather uncertain. The works are somewhat cruder regarding style and technique than the earlier portraits of his own hand, and, furthermore, Galle senior seems to have gradually stopped engraving plates after 1590. It seems plausible to assume that Theodoor added the name of his father as a reference to the existing plates and as a general hallmark of quality of the entire series. The fact that Theodoor Galle was able to use his father's stock of plates at a time that the latter was still actively publishing prints, also shows that Philips's eldest son slowly took over control of the family print-shop during a number of years. As late as 1605 prints were still issued with the address of Philips Galle as a publisher.

Examining the contents of the *Italorum doctrina illustrium imagines*, the portraits have been arranged more or less chronologically and not, as in the 1587- and 1604-editions, by profession.[99] After starting off with the above portrait of Pius II, a place of honour obviously due to his rank as pope, Theodoor Galle goes back in time to such *uomini famosi* as Thomas ab Aquino, Dante and Petrarca. The row ends with contemporary scholars, amongst them Fulvio Orsini (died 1600), the Florentine philologist Pietro Vettori (died 1585) and Carlo Sigonio, a historian from Modena who died in 1584. In general the portraits added by Theodoor Galle are those of lesser known scholars, even by sixteenth-century standards. While his father had already collected images of the most famous savants in his three earlier series, Theodoor probably had been able to obtain less obvious portraits during his stay in Italy in the years 1593-96. It may, in fact, have been this journey that inspired the young engraver to issue a series of portraits devoted to Italian scholars. In turn, it may have been his son's publication of the *Italorum doctrina illustrium imagines* that suggested Philips Galle to add portraits to a volume of laudatory verses on Netherlandish scholars, written by a young Flemish historian.

Illustrium scriptorum icones (1604)

After Hadrianus Junius, or at least possibly so, in 1567, Benito Arias Montano in 1572 and Frans van Ravelingen in 1587, it was yet another scholar who was involved in the conception of Galle's last major undertaking. In 1602 a small treatise with laudations and biographical notes on humanists and scholars from the Netherlands was published under the title of *Elogia illustrium Belgii scriptorum*. The book was written by the then 29 years old historian Aubert Le Mire (also known as Aubertus Miraeus), a Louvain scholar who was appointed a canon at Antwerp cathedral in 1598.[100] It must have been obvious to all concerned that this unillustrated publication would make a perfect match with the collections of portraits that Philips Galle had published in the previous decades. Several of the learned men eulogized by Le Mire had also been included in one of Galle's volumes. As a result of the subsequent collaboration the Galle workshop, in the summer or fall of 1604, produced the *Illustrium scriptorum icones*, a volume containing an engraved title page (*fig. 37*) a one-page letterpress introduction by Le Mire and a table of contents with the *approbatio*, followed by 52 numbered portraits.[101]

Where in his earlier series of portraits Galle himself had taken the lead in compiling a volume, in this case it was Aubert Le Mire who took the initiative and probably also determined the selection to a large extent. The title page explicitly mentions that the portraits and the verses came from the 'museum' of Le Mire.[102] This could either refer to his library and study, in other words to Le Mire as the author of the verses and the intellectual mentor of the selection, or, more practical, to a collection of portraits the scholar had in his possession. Or it could refer to both. In his short introduction to the *Illustrium scriptorum icones* Le Mire reminds the reader of his own publication on illustrious Netherlandish scholars which had recently been brought on the market. After having performed this feat Le Mire, by his own words, started collecting the accompanying portraits, the result of which he hereby presents to the reader.[103] Besides the portraits Le Mire had brought together, Galle was able to reuse 17 portraits from his earlier series: 11 from the *Virorum doctorum effigies* of 1572 (of which five had originally been engraved for the 1567-edition), five from the *Imagines doctorum virorum* of 1587 and the second version of Torrentius's portrait from the 1595-reissue of this last volume. In some cases the existing verses were maintained, in other instances they were replaced by new inscriptions. Besides many verses by Le Mire, poems by several other, mainly Antwerp, authors were engraved underneath specific portraits.[104] All the earlier engravings were included in new states, as at the top of every portrait the age and the year of death was added (*compare figs. 1, 2 and 38*). As with the two preceding series of cardinals and Jesuits, the new portraits were all engraved in the Galle workshop. A more exact identification of the engraver(s) is not possible.

The basic principles of the *Illustrium scriptorum imagines* differ in some essential respects from its predecessors. As mentioned, the book was intended as a eulogy of scholars from the (Northern and Southern) Netherlands, thus excluding all other countries.[105] In the second place, though not specifically mentioned, it was intended as a historical survey. That is to say all persons portrayed were deceased and definitely belonged to the past. One will look in vain for the scholarly generation of humanists working in Antwerp, Louvain or Brussels around 1605. Even the famous scholar Joost Lips, who died in 1606, had to wait for the second, revised edition of 1608 before he could posthumously partake of the honour of being selected.

As in the *Imagines doctorum virorum (1587)*, the scholars are arranged according to their profession or their main occupations. The volume starts off with Pope Adrian VI and then continues with six bishops, including Franciscus Sonnius (the first bishop of Antwerp), François Richardot (bishop of Arras, then called Atrecht and part of the Southern Netherlands) and Willem van der Linden, bishop of Roermond and Ghent successively. The row of prelates ends with the Bruges theologian Jacques de Joigny de Pamele, whose untimely death prevented his consecration as bishop of Saint Omer. As such, De Pamele is also the appropriate beginning of the next section of no less than 10 theological writers. Amongst them familiar faces from previous series as the inquisitor Ruard Tapper and the orthodox Louvain professor Jacobus Latomus, as well as many new additions like the Franciscan preacher and theologian Adam Sasbout and the ardent Dutch Jesuit Petrus Canisius (*fig. 39*). The following gallery of jurists begins with Nicolaes Everaerts, chairman of the *Grote Raad* in Malines in the years 1528-32 and father of the talented Janus Secundus and Nicolaus Grudius, who are both included amongst the poets at the end of the book. After the sizable company of 10 scholars of law, follow three physicians: the famous anatomist Andreas Vesalius in combination with the Dutch Gemma Frisius and his son Cornelius Gemma. These last two versatile scholars (mathematicians, astronomers and philologists) indeed started their careers as a medical student, but would nowadays never be commemorated on account of exemplary feats in this profession.[106]

The physician and historical linguist Johannes Goropius Becanus - whose reputation will always be connected to his ill-fated attempts to prove that the Antwerp dialect was the oldest language on earth and thus spoken by Adam and Eve in Paradise - both ends the list of physicians and also heads the next group of 12 portraits, basically devoted to scholars who acquired fame as philologists or as students of classical and oriental languages. Amongst them 'traditional' humanists like Erasmus and Agricola, as well as more specialized scholars such as the Antwerp Hellenist Jan Lievens and the Brabant scholar of the Hebrew and Arab languages Nicolaas Cleynaerts. Then follow three smaller categories: three historians (Edmund van Dinter, Philippe de Commynes and Ogier Ghislain de Busbecq), one geographer (Ortels) and six poets. Besides the above-mentioned brothers Janus Secundus and Nicolaus Grudius, one can here find such diverse authors as the Dutch humanist and dramatist Macropedius, the Delft rector Cornelis Muys, the Bruges scholar François de Maulde and interestingly enough even a poet-painter, the erudite Liège artist Dominique Lampson (*fig. 40*). It is quite remarkable that the verses underneath Lampson's portrait praise him equally on account on both professions.

In 1608 Galle's son Theodoor - who around 1600 took over the charge of the family workshop from his ageing father - published a revised and enlarged edition of the *Illustrium scriptorum icones*, this time dedicated to archduke Albert of Austria. Six portraits were added: Thomas à Kempis, the physician Gilbert Fusch (already used in the *Virorum doctorum effigies* of 1567), Joost Lips, Christophe Plantin (not the portrait of 1572 by Philips Galle, but an engraving by Hendrick Goltzius), the bishop of Ypres Martinus Rythovius and his successor Petrus Simons (who had died in 1605).[107] In most cases the remaining inscriptions from the earlier editions were replaced by verses written by Aubert Le Mire and a number of other authors (*compare figs. 38 and 41*).

With the list of scholars included in the 1604- and 1608-editions of the *Illustrium scriptorum icones* in mind, one can certainly not overlook the radical changes in comparison to Galle's earlier series of 1567, 1572 and 1587. The previous emphasis on Christian humanists with moderate

views on matters of religion has completely disappeared. All scholars who were either overtly Protestant or whose beliefs were reputably unorthodox were thrown out, including old-time friends of Philips Galle: the leading Calvinist Janus Dousa, the scholarly Hadrianus Junius - who was long suspected of heterodox opinions and who had become the physician of William of Orange in 1573/74 - and the cartographer Gerard Mercator, whose sympathy for the Lutheran conviction caused his arrest in 1544.[108] It is also not surprising to see Cornelius Grapheus and Johannes Sartorius omitted, as both were prosecuted by the Inquisition more than once. But even the botanist Rembert Dodoens, the famous author of the *Cruydtboeck* and not at all an outspoken representant of the Reformation, is found amongst those dismissed. Erasmus, whose writings were so often criticized by the Catholic Church and regularly placed on the *Index librorum prohibitorum*, is present, but with the additional number *35b* as if he were added at the very last moment - perhaps after the censor had seen the manuscript?

An interesting, though much earlier, document in this respect is a letter written to Abraham Ortels by the Netherlandish humanist Johannes Vryfpenninck in 1561. Probably on behalf of Christophe Plantin, Ortels seems to have requested this scholar, who was living and working in Lisbon, to inform him on the possibilities of exporting prints to Portugal. Vryfpenninck warned his kinsman to be cautious with every subject that can arouse suspicion with the inquisitors, who inspect prints with the same zeal as books. He continues with the words: "The best thing would be [prints illustrating] the Old and New Testament, portraits of illustrious Catholic men (if I can express myself in this manner, as even Erasmus is here considered to be heretic) or [images of] the passion of Christ, or subjects taken from poetry that will not cause any scandal."[109]

Le Mire's selection of scholars breathes the spirit of the Counter-Reformation. The persons portrayed were carefully judged by the orthodoxy of their faith, resulting in a disproportional number of prelates, priests and theologians.[110] The remaining scholars were either unsuspected Catholics, had managed to keep their heterodox opinions secret (Ortels), or simply lived before the Reformation was in full swing. Although, as said, Aubert Le Mire did not distinguish between scholars originating from the Northern or Southern Netherlands, the effects of the Dutch Revolt are implicitly felt. Of the jurists chosen, for instance, most were at one time or another advisors to the central authorities and were known to be loyal to the Spanish Crown. It is also conspicuous that no scholars attached to Leiden university - founded in 1575 by William of Orange to thank the city for its resistance against the Spanish forces - were included in the *Illustrium scriptorum icones*, while their colleagues from Louvain - a traditional orthodox stronghold - abound.[111] The truly humanist ideal of a tolerant *Respublica literaria* without boundaries of nationality, political constellation or religious conviction, once prominently pervading Galle's series of portraits, had been left behind once and for all.

Kings, counts and coins; Galle's sources of inspiration

Having examined the contents of the four consecutive volumes of portraits in detail, some questions remain to be answered. Which examples could have inspired Philips Galle and his humanist collaborators in starting with such a novel and major enterprise? What kind of portraits did Galle

use as a model when compiling his publications? And finally - even more difficult to answer - why did this kind of publication become so popular all over Europe around 1570, and not earlier?

Some attention has already been paid to two traditions that could have stimulated Galle in publishing portraits of scholars. On the one hand there was the literary usage of writing eulogies on *uomini famosi*, on the other hand existed various traditions of collecting the features of illustrious men. Galle knew both at first hand: he collected portraits of scholars himself and through his learned friends he was undoubtedly aware of the custom of writing laudations on such men. Combining these two traditions must have been as self-evident to Philips Galle, as it was to several other publishers in Europe at the same time. Such comprehensive series with portraits of Renaissance scholars were first published in 1566, when Antonio Lafreri issued his *Illustrium iureconsultorum imagines* with portraits of famous scholars of law, followed suit by Galle's *Virorum doctorum effigies* in 1567.[112]

Lafreri and Galle - who independently of one another came to be the prime initiators of the series of uniformly engraved portraits of illustrious scholars, accompanied by titles and elogia - could in turn have been inspired by two related, slightly older traditions in portrait iconography.[113] The first is the publication of books illustrated with reproductions of heads on ancient and modern coins or of imaginary portraits in this style. There was an upsurge of this iconographic tradition in 1553, when two monumental surveys of this type were published in Lyon: the *Promptuarium iconum*, illustrated with more than 600 (woodcut) portrait medallions, compiled and published by the French Guillaume Rouille, and Jacopo da Strada's *Epitome thesauri antiquitatum*, illustrated with slightly less than 500 woodcut medallions.[114] One of the highlights in this genre is doubtlessly Hubert Goltzius's *Vivae omnium fere imperatorum imagines* with 148 splendid chiaroscuro medallions of emperors, from Julius Caesar to Charles V (*fig. 42*). This work was published by the Antwerp publisher Gillis Coppens van Diest in five different editions between 1557 and 1560.[115] It is interesting to note that both Lafreri and Galle did also bring, in 1570 and 1573 respectively, illustrated books of this type on the market. Galle's *Deorum dearumque* of 1573 does, however, not reproduce coins with emperors but with the heads of antique gods (*compare figs. 43 and 44*).[116]

Another strongly related genre which may have been a source of inspiration is the iconography of kings, emperors and the like, not illustrated as coins but conceived as a genealogical series of portraits. These books were not published from an antiquarian point of view, but were written in the tradition of the medieval chronicles as a combination of a historical and geographical study. Around 1550 this kind of publication was in high demand.[117] One example may be singled out here: in 1549 the Paris printer Robert Estienne published the *Vitae duodecim vicecomitum Mediolani principum*, a chronicle of the Milanese house of Visconti written by Paolo Giovio and illustrated with 12 half-length woodcut portraits (*fig. 45*). It was the only book by Giovio to appear with illustrations during his life.[118] Again Philips Galle also produced engravings following this tradition. In 1569 Galle engraved and published seven, as yet largely unknown, prints with the historical lineage of all the counts of Holland and Zeeland, starting with Thierry of Aquitania in the ninth century and ending with Philip II, king of Spain and the last liege of Holland (*figs. 46 and 47*).[119] Such series were popular in Holland in the sixteenth century. Preceding generations of printmakers like Jacob Cornelisz. van Oostsanen and Cornelis Anthonisz. had made woodcuts in this tradition and, furthermore, several painted cycles of the Counts of Holland were to be found in the cities of Haarlem

and Leiden. As far as is known, however, the series of 1569 does not relate to any existing prototype.[120] Strangely enough Galle's half-length images do not follow the famous portraits painted by successive generations of Haarlem artists in the Carmelite Convent in his home town. Several years later, in 1578 when the engraver had long left Haarlem, Philips Galle's workshop did produce a series of engravings after these latter portraits. These were used to illustrate a widely known, scholarly publication: Michael Vosmeer's *Principes Hollandiae et Zelandiae*, an elaborate historical study of the counts of Holland and Zeeland illustrated with 36 full-length portraits (*figs. 48 and 49*). This work was printed as a joint venture by Christophe Plantin and Philips Galle, who of course produced and printed all engravings.[121]

Having singled out two types of illustrated publications that may have served Galle as a model when he started working on his first series of portraits of scholars, I would now like to pay some attention to the kind of portraits Galle used when engraving a specific image of a scholar. Though it fell outside the scope of this study to do a systematic research on the iconography of every single portrait, some general remarks can be made. As will be clear from the preceding observations, Galle did not make use of engraved series of portraits as there were none he could refer to. In the case of many contemporary Dutch and Flemish scholars he himself had met, Galle - according to his own words in the introduction the *Virorum doctorum effigies* - used portraits drawn "ad vivum" (after life). Of scholars of older generations or of foreign savants the engraver seems to have used anything he could lay his hand on, whether a painting, drawing or print. In the case of Vesalius, for example, he used a woodcut by Jan Stefan van Kalkar, the only authentic portrait known of the anatomist and published in his famous study *De humanis corporis fabrica* (*compare figs. 12, 13 and 50*).[122] In others instances medals were used, as in the case of Johannes Dantiscus in 1587. Galle's portrait of this Polish bishop and humanist was reproduced from a medal by Janus Secundus made in 1531 (*compare figs. 51 and 52*).[123] Five of the Italian poets from the *Virorum doctorum effigies* of 1572 (Boccaccio, Dante, Ficino, Poliziano and Petrarca) were conveniently copied from a single engraving after a painting by Giorgio Vasari published by Hieronymus Cock (*compare figs. 53, 54 and 55*).[124] When incising his portrait of the Italian bishop and poet Pietro Bembo, Galle may have used an engraving by Giulio Bonasone or a similar one by Enea Vico as an example (*compare figs. 56 and 57*). Both were in turn presumably copied after a (lost) painting by Titian. Here one finds a characteristic problem: did Galle copy Bonasone or Vico, or did he have access to another drawn or painted version of Titian's portrait?[125] Especially paintings of famous scholars were circulating in large numbers, often with several versions of the original and with numerous painted copies of varying quality. It is, to give one more example, not difficult to see that Galle's portrait of Erasmus (*fig. 58*) in fact follows Hans Holbein's famous painting in Longford Castle (*fig. 59*). But the question remains if Galle copied one of the many versions of this portrait, or simply used Frans Huys's engraving of 1555 (*fig. 60*). Although the iconography of some of the most famous humanists (Erasmus, Agricola) and reformers (Calvin) has been studied more in detail, there has, in general, been done little study of the iconography of scholars in the sixteenth century.[126]

The important question remains why, around 1565-70, publishers like Cock and Galle in Antwerp and Lafreri in Rome were so engaged in new trends in print publishing, such as engraved portrait series. Although an elaborate history of printmaking in the second half of the century in the wake

of Landau's and Parshall's outstanding overview of the Renaissance print is clearly a desideratum in art literature, several of their observations on the market for prints around 1550 can be taken in account here as well.[127] On the one hand professionalization of the print workshop and its production process - Landau and Parshall speak of "its efficiency of replication, its proliferation, its practical use, and its commercial potential" - around 1550 led to the emergence of the first two publishing houses concentrated on producing *en masse* what is traditionally (and wrongly) known as 'reproductive engraving': Hieronymus Cock's *Aux Quatre Vents* in Antwerp and the workshop of Antonio Lafreri in Rome.[128] Such printmakers for the first time combined the experience and efficiency in engraving, printing and distribution needed to produce laborious volumes of portraits, whether printed as a series of prints with engraved verses in the margins or as an illustrated book with a sizable amount of text in letterpress. On the other hand a specific type of collector had emerged, who, on large or modest scale, aspired to acquire an encyclopedic collection. This scholarly type of collection was arranged by subject, acknowledging "the importance of prints as documentary images over their value as works of art."[129]

Two well-known documents in the history of Renaissance and Baroque printmaking might here once more be quoted in order to illustrate the above development. In 1572 Antonio Lafreri published a list of the prints he had in stock, as yet the only existing example of such a stocklist from the sixteenth century. The booklet is divided into five different categories: maps and plans, prints with antique subjects, reproductions of contemporary paintings and sculptures, religious subjects and finally portraits, ornament prints and some other miscellaneous subjects. The basic arrangement of each category and its subdivisions is by subject (and size), strongly suggesting that Lafreri's customers bought their prints in this way.[130] It is interesting to note that portraits are specifically mentioned, showing the interest collectors must have had in the subject. This is corroborated by another contemporary source, the *Inscriptiones vel tituli theatri amplissimi* written by the Flemish scholar and librarian Samuel Quicchelberg and published in 1565. Quicchelberg aimed at providing his readers with an intellectual model for organizing an encyclopedic, visual theatre of human knowledge. His imaginary universal cabinet, a type of collection also known as a *Kunstkammer*, combined objects of natural history, archaeology and botany with paintings, sculptures, the decorative arts and prints. In his treatise Quicchelberg sketches (for the very first time in the history of printmaking) the contours of a print collection, bound in volumes and, such as in Lafreri's stocklist, categorized by subject. As one would expect, the engraved portrait is again one of the topics worth mentioning separately.[131]

In northern Europe this type of systematic collection became standard, as can be confirmed by the few remaining original albums with prints assembled in the second half of the sixteenth century.[132] It is, therefore, not very surprising to see such publishers as Hieronymus Cock and, slightly later, Philips Galle adapting their stock to the public demand for new and specific subjects like portraits. Before 1565 Cock had already started working on his collection of portraits of artists, even though he could not see the book through press before his death in 1570.[133] It may have been exactly this project which first inspired Philips Galle - who worked for Cock until 1563/64 - to start collecting portraits himself and to consequently issue his own portrait series in 1567. After Galle's arrival in Antwerp in 1570, his contacts with the printer and publisher Christophe Plantin must have stimulated the engraver to continue publishing similar series of portraits. Using Plantin's

efficient and well-equipped *Officina Plantiniana* as a model, Galle rationalized and standardized the production of prints on a then unique scale. It was this process (which is discussed more in detail in another chapter) that enabled him to produce, amongst many other prints, such an astonishing number of portraits during his long career. The dramatic changes in the contents of the consecutive series in those forty years not only provide us with a most intriguing reflection of the political and religious upheavals in the Netherlands between 1567 and 1604, but also show how an essentially commercial publisher like Philips Galle managed to survive by adapting the iconography of one particular subject to the needs of his time.

CHAPTER 3

"As a guide to the highest learning;" an Antwerp drawing book dated 1589*

A few years ago Jaap Bolten published a survey of Dutch and Flemish drawing books, a study that was reviewed by Charles Ford in the *Print Quarterly*. Ford praised the catalogue - the first part of the book - and stated: "One should now be able to construct a chart, or a family tree, of images and influences, onto which subsequent additions might be fitted."[1] The aim of this study is to present such an addition.

As can be gathered from his title, Bolten only includes drawing books published between 1600 and 1750. The reason for excluding sixteenth-century books was simple: none had been found prior to 1611. Between then and 1616 the Dutch engraver Pieter Feddes of Harlingen published a title page and 11 prints of skeletons, torsos and heads which were intended as drawing examples. This was a rather haphazard collection of engravings of various sizes, which most probably was never published as an integral series, although the title page optimistically speaks of a "*Teikenbouxken*" (drawing booklet).[2] The first Flemish drawing book was engraved and published in Antwerp by Pieter de Jode in 1629. This series, consisting of 25 prints, might be considered, in contrast to Feddes's engravings, as a complete and homogeneous drawing book.[3] However, at this point I would like to draw attention to another series of prints which predates the above two books by years, and which can thus be seen as the first Netherlandish drawing book known so far. In 1589 the Antwerp engraver and print publisher Philips Galle published 13 prints with a title page and a one-page introduction entitled *Instruction et fondements de bien pourtraire (figs. 1-14)*.[4] This series is entirely consistent with Bolten's definition of a drawing book, which very much stresses the instructive intent. Galle made his didactic purpose quite clear in the subtitle: "For apprenticed youth and all who feel dispose to be painters, sculptors, goldsmiths or like artisans."[5] So, at least according to the title page, these prints were made and published for the instruction of young artists.

It might be interesting to examine the contents of Galle's booklet, and to glance at the artistic and intellectual climate in which it originated. The 13 numbered engravings clearly concentrate on one aspect of drawing, namely anatomy. The series consistsof four three-print sets of the human figure seen from the same three angles each time: in front, in profile and from the rear. The first set shows a skeleton *(figs. 2-4)*, the second an écorché, or flayed nude, displaying the human muscles *(figs. 5-7)*[6]; the third a nude man *(figs. 8-10)* and the fourth a nude woman *(figs. 11-13)*. The series closes with a single sheet of three nude children seen from the same viewpoints *(fig. 14)*. Using this modest, but systematic presentation of the human body, Galle hoped to provide young artists with a basic knowledge of anatomy. This was necessary because, according to Galle in his introduction to the series, there were far too many oncoming draughtsman who "still toil in darkness," having no knowledge of the basic of portraying the human body. An understanding of anatomy is as important to artists as "the rudiments of grammar [are] to scholars," he continues. By showing a skeleton and an *écorché* in combination with nude men, women and children, Galle demonstrates

the standard way of learning to draw the human figure: from the bones to the muscles, from the muscles to the flesh. In the previous century Alberti had already advised painters to practice the following method of drawing the human figure: "..... and in this it will help, when painting living creatures, first to sketch in the bones .....Then add the sinews and muscles, and finally clothe the bones and muscles with flesh and skin."[7] This approach became widespread in the sixteenth century, as can be deduced, among other things, from an interesting, contemporary drawing by the Bolognese painter and engraver Bartolomeo Passarotti *(fig. 15)*. It shows the artist himself gesticulating in the right foreground. Behind him is a row of figures: a skeleton, an *écorché*, a male nude, a female nude and a child. The sequence is exactly the same as in Galle's drawing book. It is interesting to note that, according to the critic Raffaello Borghini, Passarotti was the author of a now lost treatise on anatomy directed specifically at artists, just like Galle's book.[8]

In stressing the importance of anatomy as an essential part of an artist's training, Galle was of course continuing a time-honoured tradition that had started in Italy in the fifteenth century and blossomed there in the sixteenth century - especially in Florence, as recent research has shown. After Alberti, artists like Leonardo, Michelangelo and Alessandro Allori were deeply engaged in anatomical studies, and also planned to write treatises on the subject. Initially some of them even performed dissections themselves.[9] But many Netherlandish artists in the second half of the century had a profound interest in anatomy as well. Some worked in Italy, such as the sculptors Giambologna, Pierre Francheville and Guillelmo Paludano (Willem van den Broecke), while those back in the Netherlands were stimulated by their interest in contemporary Italian art and art theory. This can be seen in the immediate surroundings of Philips Galle. Ilja Veldman has demonstrated in her studies of Maarten van Heemskerck, for instance, that this artist confessed his faith in the principle that a true representation of the human figure can only be achieved with a thorough grasp of anatomy based upon medical knowledge.[10] Heemskerck's interest in anatomy - so evident in his *oeuvre* - was subtly expressed by depicting an illustrated anatomical book in the foreground of his *Saint Luke painting the Virgin* of c. 1555 *(figs. 16 and 17)*. As has been pointed out, it may have been the famous humanist and physician Hadrianus Junius who had stimulated this interest. Galle, who was born in Haarlem and lived there until 1570, was well acquainted with both Heemskerck and Junius, who was the town physician from 1552 to 1572.[11]

Another case in point is the interesting *Practitioners of the fine arts,* engraved by Cornelis Cort after a drawing by Johannes Stradanus *(fig. 18)*, both of whom had worked with Galle at one time or another. In this engraving, often incorrectly called *The Academy of fine arts*, the left foreground is conspicuously occupied by young draughtsmen studying both a skeleton and a corpse that is being dissected before their eyes.[12] The prominence of *Anatomia* - the only auxiliary science present - stresses the importance that is being attached to it. Echoing the words of his venerated example Vasari, the Dutch painter and theorist Karel van Mander gave artists the following advice in his *Schilder-Boeck* of 1604: "Furthermore, it will benefit the art of drawing in large measure to have a good understanding (by seeing corpses dissected) of the muscles, where they begin and where they end."[13]

Whereas in the fifteenth and in the first half of the sixteenth century various artists in Italy were themselves engaged in dissecting corpses, simply because no adequate handbooks on the anatomy of the human body existed, in the second half of the century there were more and more pro-

hibitions against the unlimited freedom of dissection. Artists had to rely increasingly on secondhand information instead of dissecting themselves or seeing it done before their eyes. The difficulties surrounding dissection in the Netherlands are exemplified by the fact that in 1555 the Amsterdam guild of the surgeons was officially given permission to dissect only one corpse a year. Though matters may have differed in practice, it hardly seems possible that artists had many opportunities to witness dissections in this period. Van Mander's morbid story about Aert Mijtens - a painter from Brussels who purportedly stole a corpse from the gallows in order to observe the human body in detail - graphically illustrates the problems.[14] Even in 1642 the Leiden painter and writer Philips Angel was still complaining about the lack of any opportunity to examine the human body in the flesh, as it were, and accordingly advised students to study the works of those artists who were well acquainted with the subject.[15] At that time, though, a solid grounding in anatomy could be gained from the publications of the famous Flemish anatomist Andreas Vesalius (1514-1564). His illustrated anatomical studies - especially *De humani corporis fabrica*, first published in 1543 - were of great importance; for the very first time accurate representations of skeletons, muscles, organs and so on were being depicted and published. Naturally this was of the utmost importance to doctors and surgeons, but artists also took a keen interest in Vesalius's revolutionary work. The anatomist himself was certainly aware of the importance these woodcuts (which were probably executed by a Dutchman) could have for artists, as he wrote in *De humani corporis fabrica*: "These plates display a total view of the scheme of muscles such as only painters and sculptors are wont to consider ....."[16] Vesalius had certainly identified a demand, since his studies remained the foundation of anatomical drawing books for artists for a long time to come.

In this respect it was only natural that Philips Galle should mention his well-known compatriot in his introduction to the print series. He writes that he wants to provide young artists with lessons in anatomy, just as Vesalius had done, but feels that those studies are "as a matter more befitting doctors and surgeons than us others." Sensibly, he wanted to confine himself to the proper limits of his profession (i.e. drawing and engraving), and therefore made the new, detailed anatomical insights comprehensible and accessible to non-specialists. In doing so Galle was, with the possible exception of Giulio Bonasone, the first artist to publish a didactic series of anatomical drawings which systematically adapted important medical findings to the needs of artists.[17] Besides the mention of his name, comparison with various works by Vesalius clearly reveals how close the similarities are between their skeletons and écorché nudes (*compare, for instance, figs. 2 and 19*). There is yet another print which proves that Galle knew and used *De humani corporis fabrica,* Latin and Dutch editions of which were published in Antwerp by his friend Christophe Plantin.[18] In his 1572 series of portraits of famous and learned men, Galle also included the likeness of Vesalius (*see chapter 2, figs. 12-13*). This engraving, cut by himself, is a faithful copy after the only authentic portrait known of Vesalius - a woodcut by Jan Stefan van Kalkar in *De humani corporis fabrica.*[19] So Galle must at least known this study. Beneath the portrait are verses written by the Spanish humanist and poet, Benito Arias Montano, which again stress the importance of the anatomical studies to both surgeons and painters alike: "None was more skilled than Vesalius in the dissection of the smallest parts of the human body. He augmented art for doctors and painters by treading the inner paths that lie hidden."[20]

Besides the prints mentioned, Galle engraved and published at least one other print which is connected with the study of anatomy. In a series of personifications of trades and professions, after designs by Maarten van Cleve, the seventh print is entitled *Panacea* (the medical profession). In the background are two auxiliary sciences: on the right is pharmacy, while in the left-hand corner a dissection exemplifies the knowledge of anatomy *(fig. 20)*.[21] The acquired knowledge could also be used to produce a print of a non-medical dissection, as is shown in *Apollo flaying Marsyas (fig. 21)*, an engraving not mentioned in the literature, which was executed by Galle's eldest son Theodoor after a design by Stradanus. The position of the prominent écorché in the foreground is very similar to some of Vesalius's studies of flayed nudes, and is further evidence of the keen interest taken by contemporary artists in the study of the structure of the human body.[19a]

Returning to the *Instruction et fondements*, it is interesting to note that an important aspect of drawing is conspicuously absent from Galle's booklet: no attention is paid to the theory of human proportion - a subject very popular in sixteenth-century art theory. The publisher acknowledges this omission and excuses himself by referring to Albrecht Dürer's *Vier Bücher von menschlicher Proportion* where, according to Galle, the problem is dealt with fully. He seems, by the way, to have copied one interesting aspect of Dürer's *Proportion*. One arm of the écorché and of the male nude seen from the side *(figs. 6 and 9)* has been detached from their bodies and is suspended in the air behind them, probably in order to provide a full view of torso.[22]

Nevertheless, the omission of any references to theories of proportion is very unusual, as this is far more prominent than anatomy in most drawing books. The contrast becomes clear when one compares Galle's print series with the immensely popular and often reprinted *Livre de pourtraiture* by the French engraver Jean Cousin, which was first published posthumously in Paris in 1595. Amongst the dozens of engravings in Cousin's drawing book, which appeared six years after Philips Galle's treatise, there is only one sheet that concentrates on anatomy. Yet even there the proportions of the body are included in the image and in the accompanying text. More so than Galle's engravings, Cousin's drawing book foreshadows the academic practice in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, when anatomy became an important, but nonetheless subsidiary part of an artistic curriculum.[23]

Philips Galle's *Instruction et fondements de bien pourtraire* is representative of the latter part of the sixteenth century. It deals with the new and revolutionary findings of Vesalius and other anatomists. In art theory, and in the daily studio practice, a knowledge of anatomy was regarded as an essential part of a draughtsman's training. Originating in Italy, this interest spread to other parts of Europe, particularly France (the so-called School of Fontainebleau) and Flanders.

Antwerp was a thriving artistic centre at this time, and Galle himself, who settled there in 1570, was deeply involved in the artistic and intellectual life of the city. He was regarded by his contemporaries as a learned man and an eminent artist, and since he associated with famous scholars, and was above all a reasonable draughtsman, it is not very strange that he should have felt the need to publish a didactic series of this kind.[24] The slightly flattering introduction to his booklet states that his earlier engravings of nude figures were successfully employed in the training of young artists. It was due to the success of those prints, so Galle tells us, that he was advised by others to publish a series containing "the true rudiments" for the education of those who aspired to become artists.

The earlier engravings he is referring to are most probably his two series *Sea and river gods* (1586) and *Nymphs* (1587), both of which consist of a title page and 17 numbered engravings *(figs.*

22 and 23).[25] These series, published only a few years before his drawing booklet, provide us with iconographic examples of nymphs and gods, all of them connected in one way or another with water. Thus they seem to be model books, which Bolten defines in his study as: "merely a storehouse of iconographic and formal elements ..... intended for the artisan;" this in contrast to the drawing book, which was: "designed to provide instruction in the creation of images and is designed for the use of painters, graphic artists and (with some exceptions) sculptors."[26] In this respect these engravings display some interesting peculiarities. Although each nude is labelled as a specific deity, there are very few precise iconographic clues to their identities. The river-god Achelous, for instance, was Hercules's rival in a fight over Deianeira, but there is not the slightest reference to this well-known episode *(fig. 22).* The nymph Acidalia is known only as the personification of a spring bathed in by Aphrodite, who is also known as Acidalia Mater, but there is no allusion to this in the engraving *(fig. 23).*[27] On the other hand, all the nudes are depicted in a striking number of diverse and complicated postures and all parts of the human body are shown in various positions, as if to instruct the viewer on the structure of the human body. This hypothetical didactic aim is confirmed on both title pages, where Galle explicitly presents these series as being for the benefit of those studying the arts of painting and sculpture.[28] Besides providing established artists and artisans with an iconographic thesaurus, he offers young draughtsman examples of the nude human figure. An exact, drawn copy of one of Galle's sea-gods, which recently turned up on the art market, confirms that these prints were indeed used as drawing examples.[29] It is not very surprising to see that Galle's prints were often used as models in the works of his sons, pupils and collaborators, who all seem to have had a marked preference for the depiction of conspicuous nudes in complicated poses. His son-in-law Adriaen Collaert, for instance, designed and engraved two sets of ornament-prints; the sea-gods in the centre are slightly modified copies after various prints from Galle's series *(fig. 24).*[30]

By combining a book of iconographic examples with a didactic purpose, as in the series *Sea and river gods* and *Nymphs*, Galle ensured himself of a larger potential public. At the same time this combination demonstrates, I believe, that a rigid distinction between the so-called drawing books and model books does not give us much insight into the production and use of sixteenth and early seventeenth-century instructive books intended for artists and artisans. The copying of prints was indeed a standard method of learning the rudiments of draughtsmanship, but it was also the established way of acquiring a thesaurus of useful examples.[31] To publishers like Philips Galle the advantages of combining both aims must have been self-evident.

Another series, engraved and published by Philips Galle at a somewhat earlier date, also shows how slight the differences are between model books and drawing books. His *De deis gentium imagines* (Images of the gods of the pagans) of 1581 is clearly presented as an iconographic series. It consists of 29 engravings of ancient gods, with their attributes, accompanied by explanatory Latin verses by Hugo Favolius.[32] Some have smaller scenes in the background illustrating a specific aspect of their character. *Jupiter (fig. 25)*, for instance, is represented as the religious and secular lord of mankind, for below the clouds people are kneeling before a pope and a king respectively. *Nemesis (fig. 26)*, the goddess who supervises the order of the world, governs human fate, and is responsible for the retribution of the gods, is depicted with the attributes of a bridle symbolizing the balance and control humans have to maintain in life, and a flame denoting the threat of the gods' fiery wrath. Again these nudes are depicted in all conceivable (and some inconceivable) postures, and one won-

ders whether these prints were also meant as instructive examples in the art of drawing the naked human figure. Moreover, there are many close similarities between these engravings and the later prints in the series *Sea and river gods* and *Nymphs*, as one can see by comparing Jupiter and Achelous, for example *(figs. 22 and 25)*. There are also striking resemblances between these nude ancient gods and the anatomical drawing examples *(compare figs. 13 and 26)*. Regarding the widespread use made of such print series it is again interesting to note that, for instance, many of the ancient gods in *De deis gentium imagines* have been copied meticulously in carved wooden panels of several French sixteenth century pieces of furniture.[33]

The frequent use and re-use of these very specific nudes in various stances shows how easily artists and print publishers adapted their earlier publications to fit a new purpose. Changing Jupiter into Achelous or transforming Nemesis into an anatomical drawing example seems to have been an easy and practical way of responding to public demand. The dedications of all these series clearly indicate that Galle issued such prints for the benefit of artists. But rather than making the theoretical distinction, as Bolten does, between artists (who needed drawing books) and artisans (who required model books), Galle addressed himself to "painters, sculptors, goldsmiths or like artisans."[34] Further investigation of the origin and use of the large number of model books published in the Netherlands might yield more information about the artistic education of draughtsman - artist and artisan alike. It seems that model books and drawing books had a great deal in common until the second half of the seventeenth century, when academic drawing schools began to appear in the Netherlands, and when the didactic and theoretical element in drawing books became much more important.[35] Even in 1701, though, Gerard de Lairesse was complaining that artists took drawing lessons and frequented model classes solely in order to "gather Images, that is to say for the sake of practice and not theory."[36]

To revert to Galle's drawing booklet, there is, of course, a difference between the explicit didactic purpose of the *Instruction et fondements* of 1589 and the far more implicit intent of his earlier series. In contrast to those engravings, the drawing booklet concentrates on how to draw, not what to draw as well. But going by Galle's own words in the introduction, it must have been the success of those earlier series, and the way the prints were employed, that prompted him to publish his book. Modest as it may be, it seems to have been the first purely didactic series of prints aimed at artists and artisans to be published in the Low Countries.[37]

Emerging from the available documents as an independent and somewhat self-assured artist, well aware of his relatively high status among colleagues and humanists, Galle was in every respect a very suitable initiator and publisher of the innovative engravings in his *Instruction et fondements de bien pourtraire*. From around 1585 he began scaling down his work as an engraver, directing his energies instead to his extensive activities as a publisher.[38] Since no dated prints cut by himself can be found later than 1589, these anatomical examples must have belonged to the last group of works Galle engraved himself. It must have been a worthy undertaking on all counts, for it was a series of a high quality, the subject of which was held in high regards by his fellow artists. Furthermore, it was probably a profitable enterprise as well. Philips Galle seems to have had a keen eye for the commercial aspects of publishing, and as he published four related series within eight years he must have expected a ready market for these prints. This is confirmed by the somewhat unusual dedication of the *Instruction*: the engravings are presented to Hieronymus Francken the Elder, the Flemish court

painter to the king and queen of France. He visited Antwerp in the year in which Galle published his drawing booklet, and was asked in the dedication to protect the publication against "the envious." This might be a veiled allusion to some unfair criticism, but it could also refer to the menace of pirate editions - a not uncommon phenomenon. By dedicating his publication to a high-ranking court painter Galle was trying to head off adverse criticism, and perhaps hoped to warn off potential plagiarists as well, thus securing his financial interests in the undertaking.[39]

Although no copies or plagiarism have yet come to the light, it is interesting to note that Galle's drawing booklet was reprinted in the second quarter of the seventeenth century by the Amsterdam publisher Claes Jansz. Visscher. This is not untypical of Visscher, who in one way or another must have obtained a stock of copper plates from the Galle family, for he re-issued several of the latter's engravings. Visscher also took a lively and very probably commercial interest in drawing books as such, of which he issued and published several, mainly copies after Italian prototypes.[40] Galle's modest but not entirely unimportant "guide to the highest learning" was still considered useful enough for publication, some 50 years after its first appearance. Surely this would have been balm to the soul of Philips Galle, who, judging by his introduction to the series, must have taken some pride in his enterprise.[41]

CHAPTER 4

"..... as our Christian inventions are more in vogue and held in higher esteem;" religious images produced by Philips Galle and his workshop*

Of all the circa 2.500 prints Philips Galle put on the market during the forty years spanning his career as a print publisher, at least half can be classified as religious images. Besides traditional biblical themes - showing a marked preference for the Old Testament - Galle issued numerous individual prints, series of prints and illustrated books with devotional subjects, images of saints and religious allegories. It is, in fact, especially in this last category often difficult to make a satisfying distinction between religious and non-religious themes. The importance of religion as the guiding principle of human life was so overwhelming and self-evident that virtually every allegorical series of the late sixteenth century, even when it appears to be of a more profane character to a modern viewer, is more or less pervaded with Christian morals. As will be shown, the emphasis on (Christian) didactic meanings and moral lessons is highly characteristic of many of the prints Galle published and, in turn, entirely in keeping with Dutch humanism of the sixteenth century.

Having said this, it must also be noted that the nature of Galle's religious prints changed dramatically between 1563 - the year the engraver first started issuing prints in Haarlem himself - and the period around 1600, when Galle scaled down his activities as a print publisher in Antwerp to a large extent, leaving business more and more in the hands of his eldest son Theodoor. As in the case of the portraits of scholars (discussed in length in chapter 2) there is a striking shift from complex and moralizing imagery conveying an ethical, Erasmian ideal of Christianity towards a more outspoken didactic iconography, clearly rendering the doctrines of the Catholic Church. This shift of interest in the course of four decades, which obviously relates to the radical religious and political changes in the Netherlands in these years, will be the guiding principle of this study. Scrutiny of a representative selection of religious prints produced by the Galle workshop will show to what extent the output did indeed change in character. Particularly works published after 1585 - the year Antwerp was recaptured by the Spanish and the Counter-Reformation gained a firm foothold in Flanders - will be analyzed in detail.

The iconography of the, especially in Antwerp, exceedingly large number of religious prints put on the market in these early and formative years of the recatholicization has received scant attention of scholars.[1] Understandable, though, from an aesthetic point of view, this historical prejudice has caused (art)historians to underestimate the importance of engraved images in spreading the ideas and ideals of the Counter-Reformation from the very beginning. Analysis of the prints made by Galle and his workshop in the last decades of the century, might contribute to a better understanding of the market for prints in this period. Special attention will also be paid to what can be called 'Jesuit iconography': books and series of prints conceived by Jesuit authors with a characteristic and innovative type of didactic images, used to illustrate the principles of (Catholic) faith. These prints will be compared to prints Galle published in collaboration with the Franciscans, one of the main old orders active in Antwerp.

Working for *Aux quatre vents;* Hieronymus Cock and Philips Galle, 1557-1563

In 1557 Philips Galle, after being taught the art of engraving in Haarlem by the notary, philosopher, playwright and printmaker Dirck Volckertsz. Coornhert, started his professional career as an engraver working for the Antwerp print publisher Hieronymus Cock.[2] Probably still living and working in Haarlem, Galle incised a large number of engravings after designs by such artists as Pieter Bruegel, Frans Floris and Maarten van Heemskerck. Among all those works published at Cock's *Aux quatre vents* there were many prints or series of prints with religious subjects. In most cases it concerned straightforward visualisations of biblical themes from the Old and New Testament. Around 1560, for instance, Galle produced one of his finest works after Frans Floris, namely *Abraham's sacrifice (fig. 1)*.[3] The long fluid lines of the burin, in combination with the effective and for Galle somewhat unusually pronounced chiaroscuro effects strengthen the moving impact of Abraham offering his son to God. An equally dramatic episode is depicted in the *Resurrection of Christ* after a drawing by Pieter Bruegel and possibly the very best engraving Philips Galle ever made *(fig. 2)*.[4] Using a completely different style and technique in comparison to Floris's composition, Galle here succeeded in rendering the religious, supernatural intensity of the moment Christ resurrects from his tomb. With its very subtle and finely hatched lines and through its endless variety in tonal shades of black and grey the early impressions of this engraving surpass the original pen and brush drawing by far.

Much more complex is the iconography of the engravings Philips Galle made after a set of drawings of the seven principal virtues by Pieter Bruegel and published by Hieronymus Cock in 1560 as a sequel to earlier prints of the Last Judgement and the seven mortal sins.[5] The personifications of these Christian virtues and vices are surrounded by an overwhelming number of related symbols and allegorical scenes - consider, for example, the figure of *Temperance (compare figs. 3 and 4)*, depicted as a woman surrounded by smaller, genre-like images representing the seven liberal arts. The Latin verses in the lower margin provide a clue to the still somewhat obscure intention of this composition: "We must take care not to appear to give ourselves over to vain pleasures, debauchery and self-indulgence, but also that miserly stubbornness does not lead us into a poor and ignorant life."[6] There is also a general concept combining the individual virtues and vices with the above-mentioned engraving of the Last Judgement. It is exactly at that moment when, according to traditional Catholic doctrine, a man's soul is judged: the virtuous souls are received in Heaven, while the sinners are sent off to Hell.[7] As a young engraver Galle probably did not have any part in the conception of the scholarly moral and ethical allusions in such print series designed by Bruegel, but he must have felt at home with such humanist subject matter as it clearly seems to anticipate the prints he was himself to publish from 1563 onwards.

No less interesting are Philips Galle's engravings after designs by his fellow townsman Maarten van Heemskerck. Following in his master's footsteps the young Galle soon became, with Coornhert, by far the most productive printmaker after works by this famous Haarlem artist.[8] In general the prints Galle engraved after Heemskerck while working for Hieronymus Cock, were series devoted to traditional subjects from the Old and New Testament. One looks in vain for the more intricate humanist approach to religious themes as found in earlier Heemskerck prints (engraved

by Coornhert) or in works after the former's design made after 1563, mostly engraved and published by Galle in Haarlem.[9] A case in point is the *Story of Samson*, an undated series of six sheets published by Cock around 1560. An engraving such as *Samson smiting the Philistines with the jawbone of an ass* shows how effectively Philips Galle succeeded in translating the characteristics of Heemskerck's style and compositional treatment of biblical subject matter *(fig. 5)*.[10] The artist's love for complex compositions filled with sculpturally modelled figures in distinctly mannerist postures is clearly discernible in Galle's engraving, as is the typical manner in which the Haarlem painter fills the background with additional representations from the story of Samson. Thus one can, in this particular engraving, not only see the Old Testament hero slaying his adversaries with a jawbone in the foreground (Judges 15:15-16), but also see him burning down the fields of the Philistines by means of torches bound to the tails of foxes (Judges 15:4-5), drinking from a well that miraculously had sprung up on the exact spot Samson had thrown down the jawbone (Judges 15:17-19) and hurling the city gates of Hebron from the top of a mountain (Judges 16:3). Unlike the above prints after Bruegel, Heemskerck's rendering of the story of Samson shows no signs of any deeper layer of meanings, it also lacks any captions that could allude to possible moral connotations. In contrast, the print series simply tries to reproduce the Bible verses concerned as completely as possible.

These few examples after religious compositions by such diverse artists as Bruegel, Floris and Heemskerck show that the young Philips Galle was already among the very best of the so-called 'reproductive' engravers of his time, able to adapt his style and technique of engraving to the specific demands of the image reproduced. Of the circa 70 prints Galle produced for Cock's *Aux quatre vents* between 1557 and 1563 - the exact number depending on the attribution of several unsigned series - by far the largest number concerned religious subjects.[11] Although, as mentioned above, Galle himself from 1563 onwards published countless religious prints of all sorts, he at first concentrated on series in the wake of Bruegel's Seven virtues. In close collaboration with Maarten van Heemskerck and the humanist physician Hadrianus Junius the Haarlem printmaker engraved and published an astonishing number of moralizing print series intended as ethical lessons and instructive examples regarding the conduct of a Christian.

Haarlem 1563-1570; Galle, Heemskerck and Junius

In 1563 Philips Galle most probably stopped working for Hieronymus Cock and set up his own print-shop in Haarlem.[12] Unfortunately next to nothing is known about his enterprise in this city on the Spaarne, but there can hardly be any doubt that Galle was from 1563 onwards indeed printing and publishing his own engravings. Most of these prints were after designs by Maarten van Heemskerck and with Latin verses by Hadrianus Junius, who had already teamed up with Heemskerck as early as 1551.[13] Although the iconography of the prints the three of them produced in the years 1563 to 1570 has been analyzed in depth in several of Ilja Veldman's studies, some characteristic examples will here again be discussed. Besides Heemskerck, Galle in Haarlem also engraved and published prints after his own designs, very much in the style of Heemskerck, as well as a small number of works after Crispijn van der Broeck, (again) Pieter Bruegel and Frans Floris. More so than in his later Antwerp period, the production in Galle's early years as a print publisher was completely

dominated by prints and series of prints with religious subjects. With the exclusion of his first edition of a volume of portraits (compare chapter 2) and a few evidently profane subjects (such as the four elements, the four seasons and a handful of engravings taken from ancient mythology), the works produced by Philips Galle in Haarlem either illustrate verses from the Bible or are allegorical prints that are undeniably religious of nature. Devotional images and representations from the lives of saints are, in contrast to his later issues, conspicuously lacking.

An interesting example of a biblical narrative produced as a joint effort by Heemskerck, Galle and Junius is the *Story of Esther*, a series of eight engravings dated 1564.[14] Here one finds the names of the three collaborators mentioned on the first print of the series *Esther crowned by Ahasuerus (fig. 6)*. Typically Philips Galle only signed as engraver - "PGALLE FECIT" in the lower left corner - and did not add the address of his print-shop, as in the case of most of the prints he published in Haarlem. Equally characteristic is the fact that Heemskerck supplied Galle with meticulously drawn preparatory studies, using a technique (pen and ink in engraving-like lines and hatchings) that simplified the task of the engraver. Luckily a remarkably large number of such drawings by Heemskerck still exist - most of them in the Statens Museum for Kunst in Copenhagen - as in the case of *Esther crowned by Ahasuerus (fig. 7)*.[15]

The iconography of the Story of Esther is strictly narrative, it follows the verses of the Bible to the letter. One can observe the dramatic developments of Esther's life at the court of Ahasuerus in detail, each of the eight prints illustrating one of the main events in the foreground against a background with one or two additional incidents: in *Esther crowned by Ahasuerus* the Persian king crowns the young Jewish woman as his queen, replacing his disobedient former wife Vashti (Esther 2:17), while in the background to the right the subsequent banquet in honour of the bride (Esther 2:18) is depicted. Junius's accompanying Latin captions are equally descriptive and are nothing less than an elegant recapitulation of the biblical verses: "Ahasuerus crowns the queen, in whom he takes delight, with a golden diadem, and he adds lustre to the wedding festivity with a large banquet for his beloved."[16] Although in general the lives and deeds of such Old Testament heroes and heroines as Judith, Esther, Job and Samson were - whether in painting, in engravings, in books or on stage - regarded as noteworthy models for moral behaviour, there is no explicit instructive intention to be found in such print series.[17]

Matters are different with yet another series of engravings produced by Galle, Heemskerck and Junius in 1563: *The wretchedness of wealth*, a series of six prints devoted to the vanity of money and the unhappy fate of the rich.[18] Although the iconography of this allegory has been scrutinized in several studies, the moral and instructive conception of the series is so prototypic of the triad's production of prints that it again warrants a brief discussion of its contents. Set up as a long and continuous procession reading from left to right, the narrative starts off with a literal illustration of two passages from the Gospel according to St. Matthew *(fig. 8)*. A rich man, easily identified by his purse and the moneybags girded around his waist, in vain tries to pass through a narrow gate of stone leading to the Kingdom of Heaven. Behind him three men - whom are identified in the Dutch captions as a farmer, a judge and a merchant - try to squeeze a camel through the eye of a needle held down from Heaven. Certainly in combination with the legends, the moral lesson must have been obvious to any Christian: "The rich man intends forcing his way through the strait gate, but to no avail, for he is hindered by the insane desire for the yellow metal. And the people try to

drive an immense camel through the small eye of a needle, flying in the face of the laws of nature."[19] In the four following prints the procession continues with personifications warning the viewer that there are honest and dishonest ways of amassing wealth, then showing the viewer some notorious rich men from classical antiquity such as Midas and Croesus, further confronting him with the dangers and the vices accompanying wealth and ending with the deceptive effects of wealth in life such as honour, glory and so-called 'friends'. That all the worldly consequences of wealth are in vain when Death arrives, is once more made clear in the last print from the series *(fig. 9)*. All men and women have to leave their status symbols, their riches, their fancy food and their luxuries behind before they step into the ferry of Charon, the infamous ferryman of the dead from Greek mythology, who will most probably transport them to the Hell as seen in the background on the left. Again Junius's verses leave little doubt about the moral implications of this scene: "Riches, though, accrue to the earth; the immovable law of fate dictates that they shall be left behind there; bitter death carries off those who trust in them. No inducement, no honour, no formidable power can propitiate death, and thus the court of rapacious Orcus awaits the money-grubbers."[20]

Although richly ornated with profane personifications and references to classical antiquity, the underlying philosophy of the series *Wretchedness of wealth* is irrefutably religious of nature: a Christian may never rely on worldly possessions which he has to leave behind when he dies, on the contrary, riches corrupt the soul and lead him astray from the narrow path to the Kingdom of Heaven. The scholarly theme and the explicit moral and instructive intention of the series are characteristic of all the prints designed by Heemskerck with verses by Junius and engraved, printed and published by Galle. All three belonged to a small scholarly and humanist circle of writers, rhetoricians, publishers and artists in Haarlem who stimulated and influenced one another to a great extent, thus making it virtually impossible to define exactly who was responsible for the intellectual conception of such series.[21]

This is also exemplified by those print series Galle engraved in the same period after his own designs. These engravings, also accompanied by verses from the pen of Hadrianus Junius, usually demonstrate the same ethical Christian attitude and the same preference for moral lessons as those engraved after Maarten van Heemskerck.[22] In style and technique Galle's compositions also come remarkably close to the works of the Haarlem painter. A characteristic example is the *Idler's punishment*, an undated series of four prints illustrating the negative effects of idleness.[23] The engravings are especially interesting as they combine a contemporary social issue - poverty, charity and the ethical concept of labour versus idleness - with references to the Old Testament as the source of inspiration. The first print of the series shows the idler, here identified as *Piger* (the sluggard), sleeping both at home and in the fields, evidently neglecting all his domestic and agricultural duties *(fig. 10)*. A king - Solomon, as the legend informs us - passes by and raises his finger in warning, then as now a typical Dutch moralizing gesture.[24] He is followed by two burghers whose disapproving looks make their opinion on the sleeping idler quite clear. As the inscription in the lower left corner mentions, the iconography is based on Solomon's words in the book of Proverbs 6:9 and 24:30-31: "How long wilt thou sleep, O sluggard? when wilt thou arise out of thy sleep?" and "I went by the field of the slothful, and by the vineyard of the man void of understanding; and, Lo, it was all grown over with thorns, and nettles had covered the face thereof." Junius's verses in the margin again give a descriptive account of these words in the Bible: "As soon as he falls asleep by the

wine cask,with no work to occupy him, and lies snoring on his back, and the care of the fields does not concern him in his indifference, then the neglected vineyard falls into decay and does not fulfil the hopes of its owner, and instead of fruit, barren tares take possession of the fields."[25] The subjects of the other three prints will not come as a surprise: the idler is struck down (literally) by poverty and want, he then refuses to work in the fields during harvest time and the last engraving shows the impoverished sluggard begging in vain at the tables of his neighbours.

In 1564 Philips Galle engraved, also after his own design, a single sheet with the *Last Judgement (fig. 11).*[26] As has been pointed out, this composition is clearly indebted to an engraving by Cornelis Cort after Heemskerck, published in the same year *(compare fig. 12).* This again shows to what extent the inventions of Galle - who must have been familiar with all prints engraved after designs by his elder Haarlem associate - were dominated by the influence of Heemskerck, something which only was to change after he moved to Antwerp.[27] The iconography of Galle's own *Last Judgement* is rather straightforward. Seated in Heaven as the supreme judge, Christ divides the resurrected men and women into two groups, those who go to Heaven at his right hand and those whose destination is Hell to his left. The Latin verses in the margin underscore the saviour's omnipotence in contrast to human vanity and, in an anti-clerical turn of phrase, reminds us that even the dignity of popes, cardinals and bishops is to no avail in this hour. There might even be a veiled allusion towards the Calvinist doctrine of predestination in the repeated phrase that every soul is judged without being told why.[28]

It is quite interesting to note that at an unknown later date (but certainly before 1579) Galle reused the very same copperplate for a totally new composition of the *Last Judgement*, but retained, albeit somewhat modified, the rectangle with the twelve lines of Latin verse *(fig. 13).*[29] This engraving, not mentioned in the literature and, judging by style and technique, probably executed by one of Galle's workshop collaborators, shows some remarkable differences in comparison to the earlier version of 1564. The general composition is comparable and follows the same traditional scheme as its predecessor. However, by situating the lower level with the Resurrection and the Hell in darkness, in contrast with the radiant light in Heaven in the upper half, the unknown engraver has effectively heightened the dramatic effect of the events on Doomsday. This darkness is a literal rendering of the description in the Gospel of St. Matthew (24:29-31), in which Christ foretold his disciples on the Mount of Olives that the sun would be darkened, that the moon would stop glowing and that all stars would fall from Heaven. The second coming of Christ is, as the same verses prophesy, heralded by angels blowing the Trump of Doom. Two other, rarely represented details from Christ's sermon on the Mount of Olives (Matthew 24:40-42) can be seen in the background on the left: a windmill with two women, one of whom is taken up to Heaven by an angel, while the other stays behind, and a field with two labourers, one of whom also awaits the unhappy fate of being marched off to Hell. In the background to the right a large wave washes bodies ashore, an uncommon depiction of the verses of Apocalypse 20:13, referring to the sea that will let its victims arise from their watery graves on Judgement Day. Another conspicuous change is the fact that the Virgin and Saint John are placed much closer to Christ, as if to emphasize their role as intermediaries for the benefit of human souls.[30]

This literal version of the Last Judgement, following the biblical description to the letter, is rather unusual and is here substantiated by adding engraved quotations from both the Old and

New Testament around the quadrangle with the remaining lines of verse from the first version. These original verses have been retained with some slight changes. The most remarkable change can be found in the last line of the second strophe: instead of not being told on what grounds he is judged, the accused soul here very wells knows on which arguments he stands trial.[31] These words clearly imply that man is judged by his conduct on earth, that is to say weighing up his virtues and vices. This is a far cry from the Calvinist negation of the free will and its derived doctrine of predestination. It is certainly possible that Philips Galle published this 'renovated' version of the *Last Judgement* around 1577/78. In these years Galle was issuing several prints of the Last Judgement in relation to series of virtues, vices and good works. These series, as will be discussed below in detail, were most probably deliberately put on the market in the light of a fierce controversy over predestination. It is tempting to assume that the completely reworked version of the *Last Judgement* must be interpreted in this light.[32]

Returning once more to Galle's Haarlem production of prints, there is yet another series that is closely connected to the subject of the Last Judgement. In 1569 Galle published the *Four last things*, four circular plates after designs by Maarten van Heemskerck.[33] Based on the admonition in the Old Testament book Ecclesiasticus (38:21) to keep the last things in mind, this theme traditionally represents man's dying hour, the Last Judgement, Hell and Heaven respectively. The subject was later to enjoy a modest popularity in Antwerp at the end of the sixteenth century. Galle himself issued other engravings of the subject around 1578, in 1589 and 1601, while other examples were published by Hieronymus Wierix and Johannes Baptista Vrints.[34] The one remarkable feature of the Heemskerck series, which follows the conventional iconography of representing Heaven, Hell and Last Judgement, is the first sheet the *Dying hour (fig. 14)*. The foreground is conspicuously occupied by a priest administering the dying man the last sacraments. One wonders if Heemskerck, who always stayed within the Catholic Church, was here deliberately refuting the abolishment of most sacraments by the Reformed Churches. It is a fact that most later representations of the *Four last things* have to be understood in the light of the Counter-Reformation, which is no wonder, when one realizes that the subject was to a large extent adopted by Jesuit authors.[35]

The same applies to yet another remarkable subject that Galle engraved and published around 1569, namely the circular plate of the *Adoration of the name of Jesus* incised after the engraver's own design *(fig. 15)*.[36] Although the use of the IHS monogram itself (an abbreviation of the name of Jesus) goes as far back as the fourth century, it only gained widespread popularity through its adaptation as the logo of the Order of Jesuits.[37] In its present form - representants of the three estates worshipping the monogram - Galle's engraving seems to be the very first of its kind in Netherlandish art. This specific type is closely related to the Jesuit Order, as can be seen in the case of an engraving by Johannes Sadeler dated 1586 *(fig. 16)*. It is hardly a coincidence that this particular print was commissioned by the Antwerp Jesuits immediately after their return to the city in 1585, as if to herald the triumphant comeback of the order after they had been ousted by the Calvinists in 1578.[38] Although it is matter of speculation, it is certainly possible that Philips Galle had engraved his *Adoration of the name of Jesus* on request of someone who sympathized with the new order. If so, the genesis of the engraving must be sought in Antwerp rather than Haarlem. In the years 1565-70 - when this print must have been made judging by style, technique and type of letter used for the inscriptions - the Order of Jesuits had only just begun to gain a foothold in the city on the Scheldt,

while their influence in the northern parts of the Netherlands was absolutely minimal. Unfortunately there is no dedication added to the engraving and the (unsigned) verses by Hadrianus Junius are of such a general nature that they do not warrant any further conclusions.

The above examples are just a few of the many religious subjects Galle produced in Haarlem from 1563 until 1570. Taking all the dated series into account, one can, in fact, follow his production from year to year.[39] Besides 1568 - when Galle may have produced some of the undated series and, more important, must have been fully occupied with several large series of prints he was to issue in the following year[40] - there no dated works known to be published by Philips Galle in 1570. This can, however, easily be accounted for. In the latter year Galle moved from Haarlem to Antwerp. It is reasonable to assume that closing down his print-shop in Haarlem and setting up his activities anew in Antwerp took up a lot of time.

Antwerp 1570-1575; again Heemskerck and Junius

After his arrival in Antwerp Galle organized his enterprise on a much larger scale than before. While in Haarlem he was accustomed to publish, with a few exceptions, only those prints which he had engraved himself, Galle now set up a large-scale workshop and started issuing more and more works incised by others. These were either independent engravers - probably hired as freelancers - such as Johannes Sadeler, the Wierix brothers and Crispijn van der Passe, or it concerned young apprentices like Adriaen and Johannes Collaert, Galle's own sons Theodoor and Cornelis and several anonymous workshop assistants.[41] Another significant change, discernible soon after the printmaker had settled in the city on the Scheldt, is the growing number of draughtsmen involved in the production of prints. While in Haarlem Heemskerck's inventions reigned sovereign, his Antwerp production soon showed a striking number of artists whose works were reproduced. Just to mention a few of the most important artists: Anthonie van Blocklandt, Hans Bol, Johannes Stradanus, Maarten de Vos, Gerard Groenning and Hans Vredeman de Vries. But, as will be seen, there was also a change of intellectual climate in which Galle operated. Where Junius and, always looming in the background, Coornhert might be considered as Galle's intellectual mentors in Haarlem, in Antwerp he associated with the learned circle of friends around Christophe Plantin. Besides the famous printer, Galle befriended such humanists as Abraham Ortels, Benito Arias Montano and Cornelis Kiliaan. Needless to say that all these changes affected the nature of Galle's religious prints over the years, as it did with all other issues he produced. One of the most conspicuous changes is the fact that religious subjects became decisively less important in the output of the Galle workshop after 1570. In the roughly fifteen years between 1570 and 1585, Philips Galle brought an astonishingly diverse number of subjects, often new in its kind, on the market: portraits, series of pagan gods, landscapes, hunts, ornament prints and so forth. It was not until after 1585 that religious images once more regained their dominating position in the production of the Galle workshop.

Returning to the period immediately after Galle's arrival in Antwerp, it is interesting to see that Galle at first issued both his 'traditional' Haarlem subject matter (produced in collaboration with Heemskerck and Junius) as well as new types of publications made in conjunction with others. In 1571, for instance, he engraved and issued *Elisha receiving Elijah's mantle* after Maarten van

Heemskerck, a single print of this Old Testament subject with a single line of verse by Hadrianus Junius in the margin.[42] More important is a series published shortly after 1571, namely the *Lord's prayer* consisting of eight numbered engravings illustrating the Latin text of the *Pater Noster (compare fig. 17)*.[43] These plates are remarkable for two reasons. In the first place Philips Galle added his address as a publisher on the first plate - 'Ph[i]l[ip]s Galle excudebat' - something he hardly ever did in Haarlem. This was possible, as he was now an officially registered engraver and publisher at the guild of St. Luke, instead of the owner of a probably unlicensed semi-legal print-shop in Haarlem. Furthermore, the *Lord's prayer* seems to be one of Galle's first series of prints to be engraved by another printmaker, in this case the Antwerp engraver Johannes Wierix.[44] Another interesting feature of this series is the handwritten *approbatio* (the ecclesiastical approval to publish books and prints relating to Catholic doctrine) by the Spanish theologian Benito Arias Montano on the verso of the preparatory drawing for the last engraving. This *approbatio*, which was curiously enough not added to the published series, was probably necessary as it here concerned the representation of a quintessential prayer (Matthew 6:9-13) that was, moreover, interpreted by Heemskerck in a rather unorthodox manner, slightly inclining to follow earlier German Lutheran representations of the subject. It was, however, as will be discussed below, Arias Montano himself who in these years sympathized with heterodox spiritualist opinions and who was also a close friend of Philips Galle. One wonders if his theological consent was not as much a favour intended for his friend, rather than a formal ecclesiastical approval of the series' orthodoxy.[45]

In 1572 Galle published his last two series made in collaboration with both Junius and Heemskerck. The first is one of the very few entirely profane subjects they produced jointly, a series of the *Eight wonders of the world*.[46] The other is far more 'traditional': the moralizing allegory the *Rewards of labour and diligence*, consisting of eight numbered engravings. Its contents come close to the above series of the *Idler's punishment*. Instead of warning the viewer for the dangers of idling, the prints here emphasize the ethical virtuousness of those who labour and toil diligently in service of God. Besides the rewards of plain food and clothing on earth, the real reward (naturally) comes after one's death, when the righteous worker is at last united with Christ *(fig. 18)*.[47]

After 1572 Galle apparently issued no prints with verses by Junius. As a matter of fact, the dramatic changes in the political situation in the Northern Netherlands made their collaboration rather difficult. In the course of December 1572 the city of Haarlem, which had chosen the side of the William of Orange, was besieged by the Spanish forces. Junius was summoned by the revolting prince to Delft to act as his personal physician and managed to leave the besieged city in February of 1573. In service of the Prince of Orange until 1574, he left Haarlem - where his house was completely looted - after the fall of the city in the summer of 1573 to settle down in Middelburg. There he died at the age of 64 on July 16 of the year 1575.[48] It is entirely clear that, even if he had wanted to, Junius would hardly have had any time or opportunity to continue his cooperation with Galle and Heemskerck.

The latter also had his share of troubles in these years. The ageing painter, who was born in 1498, was allowed by the authorities to leave Haarlem during the siege of the city in 1572-73.[49] Heemskerck sought refuge in Amsterdam, where he stayed with Jacob Rauwert, an art dealer and collector who in his youth had studied at the painter's workshop. The ailing painter returned shortly after the siege ended and died in his home town on October 1, 1574. Even during the unfortu-

nate events in the last two years of his life, Heemskerck kept working on designs for prints to be engraved and published by Philips Galle. In 1573, quite appropriate considering Heemskerck's circumstances at the time, two engravings depicting Haarlem during the siege were published.[50] The very last project Heemskerck and Galle worked on together is more important in the context of this chapter. From 1571 the Haarlem painter was slowly, but steadily producing preparatory drawings for a large series of prints devoted to the Acts of the Apostles as described in the New Testament. These preparatory drawings, all of which have survived, are dated between 1571 and 1573 and are probably the last works Maarten van Heemskerck made.[51] In 1575 Galle published a first, incomplete edition of the *Acta apostolorum* or *Acts of the Apostles*, with 16 engravings after designs by his then deceased Haarlem companion. Underneath the plate of the first engraving - illustrating the return of the apostles from Mount of Olives - a typographically printed dedication to Jacob Rauwert was printed *(fig. 19)*. The publisher dedicated the booklet to the Amsterdam art lover, so Galle writes, not on account of their own long-standing friendship or due Rauwert's love for the art of painting, but rather to thank him for helping Heemskerck during the hardships at the end of his life. It was, so the publisher further informs the reader, in fact during the hospitality which Heemskerck enjoyed in Rauwert's house, that the artist was able to finish a large number of drawings for the series *Acts of the Apostles*.[52] That Heemskerck found inspiration to work during his 'exile' in Amsterdam, is, moreover, also proven by the inscription on an (unused) preparatory drawing of *St. Peter freed from prison*: "Martijn van Heemskerck inventor/ fecit binne Amstedam/ 1573" *(fig. 20)*.[53]

The iconography of the *Acts of the Apostles* is rather straightforward. The images render the most important events in the lives of the apostles after the death of Christ, as described up to and including the ninth chapter of the Acts - the very last chapter which Heemskerck was able to illustrate. Comparable such to earlier series as the *Story of Samson* and the *Story of Esther*, Heemskerck again gave a strictly narrative account of the biblical text. *St. Philip baptizing the eunuch (fig. 21)*, for example, not only shows the moment the apostle baptizes the proselyte, but also all relevant preceding verses: the angel who had sent Philip on his way (in the sky), the moment the eunuch is approached on the road to Jerusalem (in the background on the bridge) and Philip helping the Ethiopian to interpret the meaning of the Old Testament book of Isaiah (in the carriage on the right).[54] Where one would normally have expected to see explanatory Latin verses by, the then already deceased, Hadrianus Junius in the margins, Galle has only added short references to chapters involved.

All in all, the 1575-edition of the *Acts of the Apostles* is an incomplete publication that marks the end of what can be called Galle's 'Haarlem period'. As becomes obvious from his letterpress dedication, Galle probably decided to see the series through press as a tribute to his friendship and frequent collaboration with Maarten van Heemskerck. It took another seven years before the series was finally completed. It was Johannes Stradanus who provided the publisher with a title page and another 17 drawings of subjects from the remaining chapters of the Acts of the Apostles. Most of the additional engravings were incised by Galle and his workshop, two were engraved by Hendrick Goltzius.[55] Although the designs by Stradanus are somewhat different in style - more elegant in its figures, but less effective in concentrating on the main subject of a composition - they combine quite well with the earlier engravings after Heemskerck *(compare fig. 22)*. Stradanus even imitated the latter's method of adding smaller subsidiary representations in the background. Besides enlarging the series, Galle also decided to add explanatory verses in the margin of all copperplates. The

author of these Latin inscriptions, summarizing the text of the Bible referred to in four lines of verse, is unknown.

Besides symbolizing the end of his activities as the engraver and publisher *pur sang* of Heemskerck prints, the series the *Acts of the Apostles* also characterizes some important changes in Galle's production of religious images in Antwerp. The employment of Stradanus - the Florentine artist of Flemish origin after whose inventions Galle was to publish hundreds of engravings - to complete the unfinished series, is such a change. But even more interesting, in hindsight, is the fact that the collaboration with Heemskerck ended with a large series illustrating the New Testament. As already stated, throughout his Haarlem period as a print publisher Philips Galle had a marked preference for Old Testament subjects. This was - as has been shown in several studies on the iconography of prints after Heemskerck - entirely in keeping with a specific Dutch tradition of Christian humanism, which tended to stress the moral implications of the stories of the Old Testament.[56] Although in the northern provinces of the Netherlands this tradition continued well into the seventeenth century, in the south the focus of attention gradually shifted to illustrating the life and works of Christ from the New Testament and to (series of) prints devoted to Mary and to the life and acts of saints. Certainly after 1585 Galle only occasionally published prints with Old Testament subjects. Although hardly any research has been done in this respect, it seems that this was the general trend in Antwerp in the last two decades of the sixteenth century. It is telling to see that the three important pictorial Bibles produced by Antwerp printmakers around 1580 - two series of biblical illustrations by Pieter van der Borcht and Gerard de Jode's well-known *Thesaurus veteris et novi Testamenti*, all three containing both the Old and New Testament - were evidently much more in public demand in the Northern Netherlands than in Antwerp.[57] The change of emphasis in religious imagery is even more clear when one examines the more than 2.300 engravings incised by the three Wierix brothers, the only Antwerp print-shop which has been catalogued in detail until now. The enormous output of this Antwerp family of engravers - partly commissioned by other publishers, partly published on their own account - clearly aimed at a much wider public than Galle's rather 'intellectual' production of prints. The iconography of the Wierix engravings can rightly be considered as archetypical of the changing demands for prints in Flanders in the last quarter of the sixteenth century: only 73 prints illustrate the Old Testament, while more than 300 works are taken from the New Testament and another 200 engravings show strongly related subjects (such as devotional images taken from the life of Christ).[58]

Antwerp 1570-1575; new collaborators: Blocklandt, Arias Montano and Gerard Groenning

Besides a continuation of the contacts with Heemskerck and Junius - returning once more to the period of the engraver's arrival in Antwerp around 1570 - the new collaborators in the production of religious prints in the Galle workshop slowly came to the fore. In 1571, for instance, Philips Galle engraved his first plate after a design by Anthonie van Blocklandt *(fig. 23)*.[59] It was perhaps through Blocklandt's former master Frans Floris (who had died in 1570) that Galle initially contacted the Utrecht painter. To which extent old and new collaborators mingled in Galle's publications can be deducted from the verses in the lower margin of the above *Last Supper*: these were made by his long-

time Haarlem companion Junius and stress the eternal truth of the transubstantiation, one of the strongly disputed dogmas of the Catholic Church.[60]

With Blocklandt a more elegant and 'modern' Italian style of composition was introduced in the Galle workshop. This is certainly true of Blocklandt's designs for prints after his journey to Italy in 1572. The painter's religious inventions tend to concentrate on one decisive moment of a story, instead of filling up a composition with additional representations as Heemskerck was wont to do. A particularly fine example is the *Story of Lot*, a series of four sheets engraved in the years 1571/72 *(compare fig. 24)*.[61] The short descriptive legends in the margin were composed by the Spanish humanist and theologian Benito Arias Montano, with whom Philips Galle worked on several large series of prints in the years 1572-75. Another series Galle made in cooperation with Arias Montano and Blocklandt consists of ten engravings of sibyls, issued in March 1575. Although nominally a subject from classical antiquity, the sibyls were adopted by the Catholic Church as ancient female oracles foretelling the coming of Christ. This is made clear on the first plate of the series, the *Persian Sibyl*, where the series is announced as such in the legends *(fig. 25)*.[62] The designs by Blocklandt are rather schematic: a woman dressed in classical garbs, holding a book in her hand and sitting on a branch of a tree, a rock or a bench with an evidently Mediterranean landscape in the background. As in most engravings after Blocklandt scarce attention is paid to specific iconographic details. The verses by Arias Montano are of a general nature as well, summarizing prophecies of sibyls from several earlier sources.[63] Galle continued working with Blocklandt until the latter's death in 1583. The nature of the engravings they produced together - rather straightforward religious themes without the complex, humanist iconography so often found in Galle's production of prints in this period - remained the same over the years *(compare fig. 26)*.[64]

In the years 1571 to 1573 Philips Galle published relatively few religious prints. This might be accounted for by several reasons. In the first place, the printmaker must have been fully occupied with three major series published in 1572: two series of engraved portraits (popes and scholars) and an illustrated book with triumphal arches.[65] Furthermore, the Galle workshop must also have been working hard on three extensive series of religious prints produced in close collaboration with Arias Montano and published in the years 1573-75. These issues were respectively: *Divinarum nuptiarum conventa et acta* (1573), a series of 28 engravings and a title page devoted to spiritual allegories on the bride and the holy bond of marriage *(figs. 27-32)*, its counterpart *Christi Jesu vitae speculum* (1573), a title page and 50 prints illustrating the life and Passion of Christ *(figs. 32-36)*, and finally *David, hoc est virtutis* (1575), an album containing a title page and 48 engravings of the virtuous life and deeds of the Old Testament King David *(figs. 42-44)*. All of these print series were without any doubt conceived in close collaboration with Arias Montano, who also provided Galle with the Latin verses in the margins of the engravings.

The compositions of both *Divinarum nuptiarum* and *Christi Jesu vitae speculum* - whose origin, iconography and printing history are so interrelated that they will be discussed together here - were designed by Gerard Groenning, a draughtsman and engraver about whom nothing more is known than that he worked in Antwerp around 1575. On the first engravings of both series his signature - "Gerardus Groningus delineabat" - is to be found *(compare figs. 30 and 34)*[66] The unity in style and composition of the other engravings leave little doubt to the fact that Groenning must have provided Galle with all preparatory drawings of both series. More difficult to answer is the

question of who engraved the prints. On five engravings the monogram of Johannes Wierix ("IHW") has been incised *(compare figs. 30 and 35)*. Hence, it is reasonable to assume that Wierix was also responsible for engraving the rest of the series, which is comparable in style and technique. On the other hand, as uniformity in production became one of the hallmarks of the Galle workshop in Antwerp, it is also possible that other engravers - perhaps Gerard Groenning himself, or Johannes Sadeler who collaborated with Philips Galle on the series *David, hoc est virtutis* in 1575 - were involved as well.[67]

The first edition of both series in 1573 must have been favourably received. It was already in 1574, one year after the first editions, that the *Divinarum nuptiarum* and *Christi Jesu vitae speculum* were reissued. Besides Arias Montano's original Latin verses, more elaborate French verses by the Antwerp humanist and schoolmaster Pieter Heyns were added.[68] With these new editions in a vernacular language Galle must have aimed at a wider market for these publications. Probably with success, as copies of these French versions are much more frequently found than those of the rare editions of 1573. The typographically printed texts of these first two Latin and French editions were not, as one might expect, printed by Galle's friend Plantin, but by his Antwerp colleague Anthonis Coppens van Diest. This might have been due to the fact that the years 1573-1576 can be considered as the peak years in the production of the Plantin publishing house. Perhaps Plantin simply had no time for such a simple job.[69]

Further evidence for the demand for both series can be found in several reissues of later date. In 1580 Philips Galle and Christophe Plantin jointly issued a separate volume of the *Divinarum nuptiarum*.[70] In this revised edition the verses by Arias Montano were replaced by an elaborate Latin explanatory introduction by the German humanist Arnold Freitag, while the French verses were omitted completely and the title page was replaced by a new one *(compare figs. 27 and 28)*. The new title page stresses the close connections between the story of the bride with the Passion of Christ even more, by depicting Christ bearing his cross in combination with a female personification of the human race ("Gens humana").[71] In the seventeenth century both series were each reprinted separately: Galle's son and successor Theodoor published a revised version of *Christi Jesu vitae speculum*, while the Dutch printmaker and publisher Claes Jansz. Visscher issued, as is so often the case with prints from the Galle workshop, the *Divinarum nuptiarum* in 1642.[72] Visscher reused the original title page of the 1573-edition, but interestingly enough he also changed its iconography *(compare figs. 27 and 29)*. The image of God above the cartouche was erased and replaced by a radiation of light with the Hebrew name of God in the centre. Thus the engraving was also made acceptable to the adherents of the Calvinist faith, whose doctrines prevented anthropomorphous representations of God. Such changes are characteristic of Visscher's restrikes of sixteenth-century religious prints.[73]

Regarding the iconography of the illustrations, the *Divinarum nuptiarum* is by far the more complex of the two publications.[74] This album of prints illustrates the allegorical history of a bride preparing herself for a virtuous and Christian life in service of her future husband. The title page shows a naked man and woman united in marriage by God *(fig. 27)*. They, of course, represent Adam and Eve - the very first couple in history - before their fall. The series of prints starts off with the image of Christ bearing an anchor, the symbol of the hope Jesus offers the faithful *(fig. 30)*. In the background beggars and paupers can be seen arriving at a banquet in honour of a royal marriage.

This refers to the parable of the royal marriage (Matthew 22:1-14), ending with the well-known words "For many are called, but few are chosen."[75] This first print makes it quite clear that the following story of the bride is not solely to be understood at its face value. The virtues and qualities the woman acquires step by step, in order to be worthy of her future husband, find their equivalent in the Christian virtues every human being should (ideally) strive for during his life. In fact, the engravings of the *Divinarum nuptiarum* show nothing less than the spiritual purification of a man's soul, with the life, works and Passion of Christ as divine example. Far more than a moral handbook for a well-to-do bride, this album of prints is to be understood as a spiritual guide for the faithful, offering the reader or viewer an allegorical overview of those virtues which could help him to partake heavenly glory after death.[76]

These religious implications are present throughout the series, both in the verses and in the iconography of the images. Consider, for example, the arrival of *Worship of God (Timor, vel Dei reverentia)* at the house of the bride, or Sponsa as she is named in Latin *(fig. 31)*. Besides the textual references to the veneration of God as the foundation of wisdom - "I come to your assistance from the very first start, and my light is the beginning of Wisdom"[77] - there is no doubt that the composition deliberately echoes the composition of a traditional *Annunciation*: the female personification to the left is heralding her message as if she were the angel breaking the enthroned Mary the news of her bearing of Christ. On a more abstract level there is another obvious parallel which a sixteenth-century reader could probably not have missed as well. In the same way the Annunciation heralded the coming of Christ and, henceforth, marked the beginning of man's redemption, thus, on a more human level, veneration of God is the beginning of wisdom and a possible start on the road to salvation.[78] Taking such implications throughout the series in account, the subject of the last engraving of the *Divinarum nuptiarum* will not come as a surprise. It shows the bride being received in Heaven by the reigning Christ, where she is crowned - as if she were his heavenly bride - with eternal bliss and glory *(fig. 32)*.[79]

To what extent Arias Montano and Galle considered the life and Passion of Christ to be the best possible moral and spiritual guideline, becomes clear when one considers the print series *Christi Jesu vitae speculum* with 50 illustrations of the life and Passion of Jesus *(figs. 34-36)*. This album, rather traditional in its subject matter and its iconographic details, was clearly intended as a companion volume to the *Divinarum nuptiarum*. Not only did Galle publish the first two editions of both volumes at the same time, but he also explicitly mentioned their mutual dependence in the introduction to the *Divinarum nuptiarum*: "Hereinafter, she [the bride] is confronted with several images - which one can find in a separate volume - in a mirror, through which she can contemplate the life, acts and Passion of Jesus Christ, who of his own free will has offered himself as her bride."[80] This mystical union between Christ and the bride - a highly unusual subject which is represented analogous to the popular theme of the marriage of St. Catherine of Alexandria to Christ - represents the spiritual bond with the saviour which every Christian should be able to obtain through love, faith and virtue. The life of Christ is offered to the public as if seen in a mirror (*speculum*, as mentioned on the title page), thus stimulating the reader to scrutinize his own deeds and to judge himself by this divine example. It is exactly this emphasis which brings the contents of the two series close to the spiritualist movement known as the *Huis der Liefde* (Family of Love). Through Christophe Plantin, both Benito Arias Montano and Philips Galle were in these years associated with the Antwerp

followers of the spiritualist leaders Hendrik Niclaes and Hendrik Jansen van Barrefelt, condemned by the authorities as heretics. The combination of the *Divinarum nuptiarum* and *Christi Jesu vitae speculum* seems to reflect an essential part of Galle's personal religious belief in the period after his arrival in Antwerp.[81]

Although one has to be careful in judging the (commercial) production of a publisher according to his personal opinions on politics or religion - especially in the case of a strictly forbidden heretical movement - there is enough plausible evidence in this particular case.[82] It stands as a fact that the circle of friends around Plantin was strongly influenced by the religious ideas of first Niclaes and, after 1573, Barrefelt. As a former pupil of Coornhert, whose ideal of 'perfectisme' in certain respects comes close to the opinions circulating in the *Huis der Liefde*, Galle must have been susceptible to their ideas.[83] The emphasis on Christ as the moral and spiritual example *par excellence* can be found in several of Galle's prints and series of prints in the period until 1580. It is, for example, interesting to see that the head of Christ on the title page of *Christi Jesu vitae speculum* was copied on the unsigned engraving *Christ lamenting the world*, published with elaborate verses by Cornelis Kiliaan around 1575-80 *(compare figs. 33 and 37)*.[84] In later years Galle kept producing very similar images of Christ *(compare fig. 38)*, but these were evidently intended as straightforward devotional prints of a type that became popular in Antwerp in the last decades of the century. As such these later engravings lacked the specific spiritualist connotations of the above prints.[85]

Although he may had high hopes on the commercial success of this specific subject matter, there is other evidence more directly suggesting that Philips Galle indeed felt personally involved. In three of the four known contributions to an *album amicorum* of his hand, the Antwerp printmaker drew the head of Christ accompanied by Dutch verses urging his friends to follow the saviour's example *(compare fig. 38a)*. In Galle's own verses for his friend Abraham Ortels, who himself certainly associated with the followers of the *Huis der Liefde*, one can read: "If Christ is the object of your desire, what more can I offer you than an image of his features? This is only a reflection, but the immaculate essence that you love, that is his miraculous life."[86]

Returning once more to the prints produced by Galle in collaboration with Arias Montano, the third (and last) large series to be discussed in this chapter is *David, hoc est virtutis (figs. 39-41)*. Published in the first half of 1575 - in April of that year Arias Montano left Antwerp once and for all to travel to Rome and finally, in 1577, settle down in Spain again - this album of prints is entirely different from the above two series. It consists of an engraved title page, a Latin introduction and dedication to King Philip II by Galle and a one page Latin poem by Arias Montano, both set in letterpress, followed by 48 numbered engravings.[87] The publication seems to have been a joint venture between Galle and Christophe Plantin, whose imprint was added in letterpress in the lower margin of the title page *(fig. 39)*. Judging from the introduction the series was in fact conceived and produced by Galle, while Plantin's part in the production itself was probably limited to printing all typographical text. As in the case of other and better documented co-productions of the two publishers, Plantin most probably had a financial interest in this undertaking.[88] Although the designer of the engravings is not mentioned anywhere, the compositions compare very well to those of the *Divinarum nuptiarum* and *Christi Jesu vitae speculum* and can therefore be plausibly attributed to Gerard Groenning as well. The prints themselves, as has only been pointed out recently, have been incised by Johannes Sadeler. The monogram "IS" of this young Antwerp printmaker - who had already

engraved illustrations to a book by Arias Montano for Plantin in 1571 - is found on two of the engravings.[89]

The iconography of the series is unconventional. It was, in the first place, highly unusual to devote such an extensive series of images to the life of King David. The intention of the volume, however, was not, as can be understood from Galle's introduction, to solely give a narrative account of the acts of this Old Testament hero. Instead, it was evidently the purpose to expand on his moral virtues in an emblematic manner. In every illustration readers are confronted with a single moment from the story of David, combined with a Latin motto summarizing the virtue in question above the image and four explanatory lines of Latin verse underneath. There are no references at all to the biblical verses illustrated. In the engraving entitled *Pietas assertrix* (the defender of marital love), for instance, David is celebrated as the man who saved his wives out of the hands of the villainous tribe of the Amalekites *(fig. 41)*. Rather than recapitulating the specific acts of war against the Amalekites as found in the Bible (compare 1 Samuel 30:1-18), the verses in question dwell on David's virtues in a more general sense.[90]

By concentrating on the exemplary virtues of King David, the series stands in the tradition of the so-called *'vorstenspiegel'* offering the reader the prototype of a good ruler, whose reign is based on an ethically sound judgement. The fact that Galle and Arias Montano dedicated the volume to Philip II, king of Spain and sovereign of the Low Countries, and compared his acts to those of his biblical predecessor, indicates that they must have had this tradition in mind when the series *David, hoc est virtutis* was conceived.[91] Although the Spanish king was certainly in need of wisdom and good advice during the turbulent events in his northern territories, the main purpose of the book, however, was not that of a *vorstenspiegel*. By offering his readers the exemplary life and acts of the biblical hero David, Galle, so he informs the reader in his introduction, wanted to help all the faithful and all those who study the Catholic religion in learning which virtues are essential for the salvation of one's soul.[92] On the other hand Galle also had a more practical use of the illustrated album in mind. The compositions of the engravings could, for example, be used as models for tapestries or works made by gold- and silversmiths. This combination of an elevated didactic aim and a much more down-to-earth objective is rather typical of series of prints issued by Philips Galle, who thus tried to ensure himself of a large potential public.[93]

This overview of the religious prints produced by Galle in his first years as a print publisher in Antwerp will be concluded by two smaller series of prints, both engraved by Philips Galle after designs by Gerard Groenning. The first series is the *Parable of the sower*, four engravings - again with verses by Arias Montano and dated 1574 - illustrating this often quoted but rarely illustrated parable, together with its explanation by Christ as found in the Synoptic Gospels (Matthew 13:1-23; Mark 4:1-20; Luke 8:4-15).[94] In the background of the first print one can see the parable itself illustrated: the sower sowing his seeds on four different places, respectively a road along the fields, stony ground, earth overgrown with thorns and fertile soil *(fig. 42)*.[95] The foreground of each of the engravings depicts Christ's explanation of the story, as can be seen on the first engraving where the birds picking away all the seeds on the barren ground of the road are compared to the devil tearing away the seeds of belief from the hearts of those who fail to understand the words of Christ.[96] The following three engravings show how the teachings of Christ are progressively understood better and better, ending, of course, with those who are true believers. Just like the seeds sown on fer-

tile soil yield the richest harvest, the teachings of Christ are best understood by those who open their heart to his words as the fourth engraving instructs the viewer *(fig. 43)*. Here the exemplary Christian - an apparently well-off landowner standing in front of his fertile fields - is accompanied by female personifications of the three theological virtues (Love, Hope and Charity), symbolizing his faith.[97] The alms given to the beggar both refer to the literal meaning of the parable - the wealth, after all, is brought about by the rich yield of the fertile soil - as well as to its reading by Christ. By means of his charity the landowner also shows himself to have been a good listener of the words of the Gospels.

In emphasizing the teachings of Christ the *Parable of the sower* stands close to the *Divinarum nuptiarum* and *Christi Jesu vitae speculum*, also produced by Galle, Arias Montano and Groenning. In contrast the last engravings after designs by Groenning to be discussed in this chapter, the undated series the *Four powers*, seems to stand in the tradition of the prints Galle produced in collaboration with Maarten van Heemskerck and Hadrianus Junius.[98] This series of four engravings only bears the address of its publisher - "P Galle exudebat[sic]" on the fourth engraving - and lacks the names of the engraver and designer. Comparison with the above *Parable of the sower* and his few signed drawings make an attribution of the designs to Gerard Groenning entirely convincing, as is the attribution to Philips Galle as the engraver of the series.[99] The verses on the margins were composed by Victor Ghyselinck, a Flemish humanist, physician and occasional poet who associated with Plantin.[100] The subject of the *Four powers* is taken from the third book of Esdras, an apocryphal Old Testament book. Even though both the Reformed Churches and the Catholic Church regarded this text as non-canonical, it was included in most Netherlandish Bible translations in the sixteenth century. A particular story from the book Esdras suddenly became popular with printmakers in Flanders in the last decades of the century, amongst them Philips Galle.

Unable to sleep after a large feast the Persian King Darius was entertained by three of his bodyguards who thought up the following riddle: "who is the strongest?" The guards' written answers, judged by Darius the following morning, were consecutively: the power of wine, the power of a king and - with a double answer in one - women are the strongest, but truth conquers all. To depict this riddle with all its moral implications Groenning and Galle reverted to a solution Heemskerck had used on several occasions in his print designs, namely the triumphal procession. The complex moralizing iconography of the *Four powers*, combining an Old Testament source with both profane and religious personifications, also seems to relate to Galle's collaboration with Heemskerck and Junius. In this case each power is illustrated as a personification sitting on a triumphal 'car' - or more precisely sedan-chairs - surrounded by numerous relevant personifications.[101] The series begins with the *Power of wine (fig. 44)*. Here the ancient god Bacchus, seated on a barrel, is attended by Transgression and Abundance and encircled by his victims from all layers of society: kings and beggars, slaves and freemen. Ghyselinck's verses explain the moral of the composition, pointing out that the seemingly harmless Bacchus deprives men of their human dignity.[102] After two sheets with the powers of kings and women, the series ends with the *Power of truth (fig. 45)*. The nude female personification of truth is carried by Fortitude and Eternity. That it here concerns Christian truth is made absolutely clear by the book the woman holds in her hand, opened at the words "VERBUM DOMINI." The verses in the margin again clarify the meaning of the scene, underlining the heavenly origins of the virtue of truth.[103]

Summarizing Galle's production of religious imagery between 1570 and 1575, one can see both a continuation of his earlier Haarlem production of prints, as well as the genesis of a new and different iconography. In the first place Galle kept producing prints in collaboration with his former fellow townsmen Heemskerck and Junius until the former's death in 1574. With a few notable exceptions, like the Groenning/Ghyselinck series of the *Four powers,* this 'Haarlem' type of iconography - roughly characterized by their Old Testament subject matter, their outright moralizing contents aimed at instructing the viewer on matters of Christian ethics and their astonishingly complex iconographic composition, with a wealth of references to both Christian and classical sources - disappeared from sight. Instead, two new trends become visible, produced in cooperation with other designers, engravers and authors. On the one hand Philips Galle started issuing more or less straightforward religious themes, often focused on the New Testament or the lives of saints. The engravings made after Blocklandt and, as will be discussed in detail below, Stradanus are examples of this category, that became especially important in later years. On the other hand, together with Arias Montano and Gerard Groenning, Galle published several allegorical print series concentrating on the life and Passion of Christ as the moral and spiritual guideline *par excellence.* Most probably influenced in subject matter and iconography by spiritualist tendencies in the circle of humanists around Christophe Plantin, this last genre - of which the *Divinarum nuptiarum* and *Christi Jesu vitae* offer the best examples - seems to reflect an essential part of the print publisher's personal religious opinions. Although certainly not the most important part of his output in the years after 1575, this ethical and spiritual interpretation of the life of Christ also continued in later years. In close collaboration with the engraver Hendrick Goltzius, the Galle print-shop carried on with this tradition until 1582.

Antwerp and Haarlem 1575-1582; Galle, Goltzius and Coornhert

In 1577 the young engraver Hendrick Goltzius left his home town Duisburg to settle down in Haarlem.[104] There is little doubt that the talented printmaker did so on advice of his former master Coornhert, who himself had returned from exile in Germany to the city on the Spaarne in March of the same year. It must again have been Coornhert who brought Goltzius in contact with Philips Galle - who, as mentioned above, had also been a pupil of Coornhert some twenty years earlier - and *Aux quatre vents,* the print-shop of Volcxken Diericx in Antwerp. As Coornhert and Galle before him, the young Goltzius thus started his career as a freelance engraver living in Haarlem and working for Antwerp printmakers. There were no print publishers in Haarlem - or in Amsterdam and the rest of the Northern Netherlands, for that matter - to whom Goltzius could turn to for commissions.[105] As Antwerp was still by far the most important centre of production of books and prints at the time, it is no wonder that a beginning engraver would try his luck there.

Between 1577 and 1582 Goltzius incised circa 75 compositions - the exact number depending on the attribution of several unsigned prints - for Philips Galle, far more than for any other print publisher.[106] The major part of these engravings are either dated 1578 or are so similar in style and technique to these dated works that they can safely considered to have been made around 1578 as well. It seems plausible to assume that upon his arrival in Haarlem Goltzius immediately started

working for Philips Galle on such a scale that it only scarcely left him opportunities for other commissions, if there were any.[107] This changed in 1579. Perhaps due to a sound financial position - in this year the 21-year old engraver married a widowed daughter of a shipbuilder - or due to the fact that he by now had built up a reputation as an engraver of his own, it is certain that from 1579 onwards Goltzius rapidly succeeded in becoming an independent printmaker. Both subject matter and technique evolved from an Antwerp production of allegorical religious prints, the contents of which were entirely dominated by Galle, into an oeuvre which bears the clear and distinct character of Goltzius himself. After 1579 Goltzius was obviously no longer dependent on Antwerp publishers as the major source of income. He did occasionally work for Philips Galle, but, with one or two possible exceptions, these were no longer prints with religious subjects.[108] In 1582 the Haarlem printmaker set up his own print-shop, which was to publish his own works as well as those of his pupils. It is telling that in exactly the same year Goltzius engraved the beautiful portrait of Philips Galle, which can be considered both as an homage to his former patron, as well as a proud token of his newly gained independence *(compare chapter 1, fig. 1)*.[109]

The religious prints Goltzius engraved on behalf of Galle together form a homogeneous ensemble. In the first place, as has been said, all works have been made in a fairly short period of time: one or, at the most, two years. Stylistically and technically these engravings are very similar to Galle's own engravings. One only has to consider, for instance, Goltzius's *Eight Beatitudes* with Galle's *Consoling the sad* from the series *Seven spiritual acts of mercy* (1577), to see the similarities in style, technique and composition *(compare figs. 46 and 47)*.[110] In fact, if Goltzius's early engravings did not bear his signature, it would be extremely difficult to distinguish them from other engravings published by Philips Galle around 1578. It is, moreover, also interesting to see that on several prints Goltzius's signature was only added in later editions by Theodoor Galle, who could thus profit from the fame the Haarlem printmaker had acquired since he first started working for Galle senior.[111]

The iconography of Goltzius's Antwerp engravings is entirely consistent with a particular group of religious subjects produced by the Galle workshop in the years 1576 to 1578. All these prints are, as most previous works published by Galle, recognizable by their continuous emphasis on ethical instruction, and again take the life of Christ as the guiding moral principle. But in comparison to the rather abstract spiritual overtones of the prints made in collaboration with Arias Montano, the Galle-Goltzius engravings are somewhat more focused on the practical issue of man's moral responsibility for his actions on earth. The source of inspiration for the iconography of the engravings was most probably Dirck Volckertsz. Coornhert. He had not only tutored both Galle and Goltzius in the art of engraving, but was also a humanist scholar with distinctive and outspoken opinions on matters of belief and moral. In many respects Coornhert's views show a remarkable similarity to the subject matter of the prints produced by his two former pupils around 1577/78. It might thus be worthwhile to scrutinize the contents of several series and to try to precise the nature of the relationship between these three major figures in Dutch sixteenth-century printmaking.

Most prominent among the plates Goltzius incised for his Antwerp patron are the series of six sheets known as the *Life of Christ* and the twelve sheet *Allegories of faith*, both dated 1578.[112] The first series does not, in fact, render the life and Passion of Christ in a traditional manner. Using six key aspects from the life of the saviour (the Annunciation, his youth, the miracles, his virtuousness, the Passion and the Resurrection) the sheets instruct the viewer on the virtues a Christian

needs on his road to salvation. Even without interpreting the numerous details of this crowded and explicit didactic composition, the engraving *Miraculous healings* by Christ is a good example of this series *(fig. 48)*. The centre of the engraving is occupied by Christ as the healer of man's soul. Although the inscription near his head refers to Christ's miraculous healing of a man in the synagogue on the sabbath (Matthew 12:9-14), the real subject is the purifying power of his blood. The ailing woman on the foreground *(Anima morbida)*, assisted by her companion *Fides* (faith), tries to collect the blood pouring from a wound in Christ's chest in a cup. With a reference to Old Testament prophecies of the Passion (Jesajah 53:5), the salvation of man's soul through the suffering of Christ is again brought to the attention of the viewer. Meanwhile Christ, like a physician holding up a sample of urine, examines a transparent heart. Through the miraculous power of his words, Jesus cleans the heart - a symbol of one's soul, here filled with such symbols of evil as a frog (avarice), a pig (gluttony) and a flask (inebriety) - of its sins.[113] The instructive intention of the engraving is quite clear: redemption of sins is possible by means of faith in Christ, who sacrificed his blood for the salvation of mankind.

It is interesting to compare the above print with Coornhert's rendering of a comparable subject, engraved around 1560 after a design by Maarten van Heemskerck: *Faith purifying human hearts with Christ's blood (fig. 49)*.[114] The here rendered subject of Christ's blood pouring into a basin stands in a long tradition, going back to the Middle Ages and is generally called *Fons pietatis* (Fountain of mercy). As has been shown recently, however, Heemskerck and Coornhert - the latter of whom might be considered the *auctor intellectualis* of such works produced by the two - added a decisively innovative detail, namely the female personification of faith *(Fides)* helping Christ by cleaning the hearts of the faithful of their sins.[115] It is exactly this combination of the *Fons pietatis* and *Fides* which can be found in several compositions that are part of Goltzius's series *Life of Christ* and *Allegories of faith*. Besides the above *Miraculous healings by Christ* - where Faith helps the sinner's soul to collect Christ's blood - these are: *Christ casting out man's evil (fig. 50)* and the *Youth of Christ (fig. 51)*. In the former sheet, belonging to the *Allegories of faith*, Christ is literally shaking out man's sins (pride, gluttony, avarice and so forth) from a large heart-shaped vessel, while retaining such virtues as patience and good intentions. The relation between Christ cleaning a soul of sins and the saviour's sacrifice on the cross is immediately made clear by the image in the upper left corner of the composition. Here one can see Christ, with the cross as a symbol of his suffering, standing on a pedestal with his blood pouring on a repentant sinner *(Poenitens)* kneeling in a basin. Once again Faith aids the believer in collecting the healing blood. A different version is found in the *Youth of Christ*, part of the *Life of Christ*, where the young Jesus *(Puer Jesus)* sheds his blood in a basin. This time the kneeling Christian is not aided by Faith, but by three related personifications: Glory of Christ *(Gloria Christi)*, Truth *(Veritas)* and Divine Grace *(Gratia Dei)*.

It is not only in such iconographic details - a detailed study of the two allegorical series would reveal many more similarities - that Goltzius's early engravings are so similar to works of his former tutor Coornhert.[116] The engravings continuously stress the necessity that every man, out of his own free will, has to believe in God and to have faith in redemption through Christ and, furthermore, has to keep on the road to salvation by means of his own virtues. This general meaning might be exemplified by *Man's quest for the Kingdom of Heaven (fig. 52)*. The composition shows four people, among them a child and a beggar, struggling along a mountain road leading to the Kingdom

of God. They are aided by three women, namely Faith *(Fides)*, Hope *(Spes)* and Pursuit of Wisdom *(Concupiscentia sapientiae)*. The importance of Christ is here represented by a somewhat unusual feature: Jesus is holding up the structure of Heaven at its lower right corner, symbolizing his role as the cornerstone of Christian faith. The importance of Christ's suffering, as written down in the Gospels, is again pointed out indirectly by means of the four evangelists, bearing the roof of the heavenly edifice on their heads. With a reference to St. Paul's epistle to the Romans (14:17), Heaven itself is shown as the place where one's soul does no longer crave for food or drink, but exists in peace, justice and heavenly delight (here personified by the three seated women) through the power of the Holy Spirit.

All in all, the tenor of these engravings has remarkable parallels to the religious opinions of Coornhert.[117] This is rather obvious. As already said, both the engraver (Goltzius) and the publisher (Galle) had been his pupils at one time or another. Furthermore, Coornhert's return from exile in 1576-77 and his subsequent fierce debates on religious matters with prominent Calvinists must have sparked off the interest of his former pupils. Already in 1575, together with Christophe Plantin, Philips Galle had published an illustrated emblem book of which the text was written by Coornhert, then still in exile.[118] One thus wonders if Coornhert might have had some part in the artistic and intellectual conception of the two allegorical series by Goltzius. If so, the omission of his name on any of the prints is not very strange. Given the mistrust both many revolting Calvinist leaders in Holland as well as the central Spanish authorities had in his opinions on religious matters, any publisher - either in the North or in the South - would have been wise to be very careful in mentioning the name of Coornhert on any of his publications.[119]

The importance of Coornhert as the most important source of inspiration for the prints Hendrick Goltzius engraved on behalf of Philips Galle in the years 1577/78, can also be elucidated by scrutinizing yet another major series of this period, the *Virtutum vitiorumque ..... encomia.*[120] This set of engravings consists of a title page *(fig. 53)*, seven representations of virtues *(fig. 54)*, seven sheets with the mortal sins *(fig. 55)* and a concluding image of the Last Judgement *(fig. 56)*. The combination of sets of virtues and vices with the Last Judgement was not unusual. Traditionally the Catholic doctrine had linked the judgement of one's soul on Doomsday with man's moral conduct on earth.[121] Following the words of the Gospels (Matthew 25:31-46), Christ's final verdict was specifically related to the acts of mercy. This relation is made very clear by an engraving of Galle's own hand, the title page of the *Seven acts of mercy*, dated 1577 and thus produced in the same period of time as the engravings by Goltzius *(fig. 57)*. In the ornamental border around the Last Judgement symbolic attributes of the acts of mercy - feeding the hungry, giving the thirsty to drink, clothing the naked, visiting the imprisoned, visiting the sick, sheltering the strangers and burying the dead - are to be found, along with numerous quotations from the Bible pointing out their relevance. The individual works of mercy are each expounded on in the seven consecutive sheets.[122] The intention of Galle's title page is quite clear, those who were deficient in doing good works are doomed to go to Hell. The seven headed monster, with the seven mortal sins inscribed on each of its heads, awaiting the sinners again points out the reason of their unhappy fate in afterlife.

Returning to Goltzius's series *Virtutum vitiorumque ..... encomia*, it is clear that this follows the same theological tradition. Instead of the acts of mercy, the Last Judgement is now connected to man's virtues and vices. On the one hand the series shows female personifications of the tradi-

tional mortal sins, on the other female representations of seven Christian merits - the three theological virtues in combination with the four cardinal virtues. The importance of these virtues and vices is once again underscored by the Latin verses underneath the engraving of Judgement Day: "He who is provided with the beneficial wings of the aforementioned virtues, will, like the light winds, reach the highest parts of Heaven. But whoever is burdened down with the gloomy burden of these vices, will sink down into the deepest bowels of the dark earth."[123] Combining virtues and vices with the Last Judgement instead of the traditional acts of mercy became more common in Netherlandish prints from the middle of the century onwards. In fact, Galle and Goltzius could have been inspired by artists in their immediate surrounding. In 1560 Philips Galle, for example, had himself engraved the seven merits from such a series after Pieter Bruegel *(compare fig. 4)*. To what extent the acts of mercy and representations of virtues and vices were considered exchangeable can be deduced from an undated and anonymous copy after Goltzius's *Last Judgement*, possibly published by Philips Galle *(compare figs. 56and 58)*.[124] In seven medallions inside the ornamental border around this copy the acts of mercy are depicted, replacing the virtues and vices from Goltzius's original series.

The popularity of the Last Judgement in Netherlandish art of this period, especially in combination with good works - whether virtues or acts of mercy - seems to be governed by the religious situation at that time. In the years 1575-81 there was an acute crisis in the Netherlands. Besides the (strongly related) problems of political and military nature, there were increasingly violent quarrels between Catholics and Calvinists.[125] One of the main points of dispute was the doctrine of predestination as propagated by the Reformed Churches. They disputed the Catholic dogma that after the resurrection each man was to be judged by Christ according to his moral conduct on earth. In contrast they argued that God has predestined the fate of each and every single human being, regardless of conduct in life. A particularly interesting example of the explicit refutation of good works rendered in prints is the *Purification of mankind*, a series of 24 compositions engraved by the Antwerp printmaker Frans Huys around 1560.[126] Without any doubt these engravings are Reformatorian in character. In one of the prints - showing two compositions engraved on one plate - man *(Mensch)*, right at the moment when fear of death is at its highest, is left behind by Good Works *(Guede werck)* whom he had previously adored on account of his intellect *(Vernufft) (fig. 59)*. Only when he realizes that his salvation can only be brought about by faith in Christ, man has the possibility of receiving divine grace. Once reborn, the Christian immediately sets about to destroy the deceptive Good Works, here personified as a nun and thus represented as a prototypic Catholic doctrine *(fig. 60)*.[127]

It is exactly against this 'monstrous opinion' on predestination that Coornhert was fiercely opposed. Directly after his return from exile in November 1576, he was engaged in public debates on this matter, time after time stressing man's own responsibility to strive for salvation by doing what is good and refraining from evil. In contrast to the Reformed Churches, Coornhert unreservedly believes that God has created mankind to the purpose of attaining virtuousness: "God wants all men to become blessed: in the same way he also does not want any man to become damned."[128] This optimistic conception of God, leads him to the opinion that God has given mankind the possession of an own free will to enable everybody to attain a state of moral perfection. Virtues and good works are quintessential in this respect, as Coornhert wrote in his *Zedekunst dat is wellevenskunste* of 1586,

the book that summarizes his opinions on moral and ethics: "One only comes to God, who is at the end of the road, by means of the virtues, the only possible road to God." Coornhert takes this opinion, which certainly must have been unacceptable to anyone inclined towards a Reformatorian conviction, even one step further. Each man has to decide on accord of his own free will, if he will accept the opportunities God has offered him: "So no man has been born with virtues on account of his parents, but these [merits] are offered to everybody by God and they are chosen and accepted by man out of his own free will."[129]

Coornhert's fierce and public resistance to the doctrine of predestination, his insistence on man's free will and the importance of virtues and works of mercy on the road to salvation, must have aroused the interest of Galle and Goltzius.[130] It is, at least, telling that in the short period of 1577-78 Galle published a number of engravings, both engraved by himself and by Goltzius, relating Christ's final verdict on Judgement Day to the virtues and moral conduct of the person in question.[131] It is tempting to assume that Coornhert was directly involved in the conception of above series produced by his former pupils, even when there is no actual evidence to corroborate this hypothesis. It is, however, plausible to suppose that the controversies surrounding Coornhert's opinions on these matters did influence the iconography of these engravings.

One could, without any difficulty, even summarize Coornhert's ethic opinions - also known as 'perfectisme', or the doctrine of becoming a morally complete mortal being - by using the Galle-Goltzius prints as illustrations. Most conspicuous in this respect is the single engraving *Allegory on the necessity of prudence*, again incised by Goltzius and issued by Philips Galle in 1578 *(fig. 61)*.[132] It seems as if Coornhert's appeal to man's moral responsibility for his own actions could hardly be better explained than using this engraving as a starting point. Seated within four roundels, rendering (yet again) the *Four last things*, a man is depicted examining himself in a mirror *(Observator suiipsius)*. This call for introspection and self-knowledge is emphasized by a gesture of the woman standing behind him. She is the personification of prudence, as is made clear by the inscription *(Prudentia)* and the traditional attributes of the two snakes. In the limited time granted on earth - of which the hourglass on which the male lead is seated reminds us - one needs her help to receive divine grace and thus be granted access to Heaven (*Gratia*, accompanying the tondo with Heaven in the upper right corner). Of course, this only happens after one's death (*Mors naturalis*, lower left corner) and resurrection, when Christ passes his final verdict on the fate of each human soul (*Iustitia*, upper right corner). That there are, however, also many threatening dangers on the path of life is shown by the presence of the guard dog *(Custodia animae)* watching over the lamb personifying the human soul *(Anima)*. But even the best of custodians cannot prevent that many souls are unable to keep on the straight and narrow path: their luckless fate in eternity is depicted in the lower right roundel, where those who have wronged are punished in Hell *(Punitio)*. Man's own responsibility to choose between right and wrong literally stands at the core of this composition. It is exactly in this respect that the engraving differs completely from the traditional representations of the Four last things and comes close to Coornhert's opinion "that no man shall be doomed through Adam's sins, but only on account of his own iniquities."[133]

But it would be wrong to interpret the Haarlem moralist as a humanist in modern twentieth-century sense, solely emphasizing man's ethic self-determination. Without any doubt, Coornhert was a confirmed Christian. The final aim of his writings was to urge his readers to come

as close as possible to the moral standards set by Christ during his life on earth. This admonition finds its parallel in *Christ as example of virtuousness (fig. 62)*, another engraving from Goltzius's series *Life of Christ* of 1578.[134] The viewer is confronted with an inscription quoted from St. Paul's epistle to the Ephesians: "Be ye therefore followers of God, as dear children; and walk in love, as Christ also hath loved us, and hath given himself for us an offering and a sacrifice to God for a sweetsmelling savour." (Ephesians 5:1-2). A woman, here identified as *Imitatio Christi*, sitting behind an easel with her painting equipment at her feet, is copying the heart held by Jesus. Thus she is literally opening her heart to Christ's teachings, which, according to Coornhert, is the only way for any Christian to start his quest for moral perfection in life.[135]

Ending this long discussion on possible relations between Coornhert's range of thoughts and the group of allegorical religious engravings produced by Philips Galle and Hendrick Goltzius around 1577/78, a few - tentative, as there is practically no factual evidence - conclusions can be drawn. In the first place there can be little doubt about the fact that Galle must have been the initiator of these publications. From the very beginning of his career the prolific Antwerp print publisher had, as is discussed above, a keen interest in the production of moralizing prints with dominant Christian humanist overtones. Furthermore, the subject matter of the described engravings also seems in accordance with what is known of Galle's own religious opinions. This is much less the case with Goltzius, who - after his association with Coornhert in Xanten (1575/76) and with Galle in Antwerp (1577/78) - steered clear from religious subjects and concentrated instead on profane allegories, mythology and portraits.[136]

The role of Hendrick Goltzius was largely limited to that of engraver of the copperplates. Given the complex iconography and the distinctly Antwerp style of composition, in combination with the lack of any existing preparatory drawings, it is generally assumed that Goltzius did not have any significant part in the designs of these works.[137] This reasoning does, nevertheless, not explain signatures such as "Henricus Golsius inventor et sculptor" on some of the sheets. These inscriptions indicate that the young printmaker was to a certain extent employed by Galle in making designs for engravings.[138] Probably Goltzius - inexperienced in the conception of these intricate allegorical compositions - was only involved in working out the drawings of specific compositions, undoubtedly following detailed iconographic instructions by Galle or, possibly, Coornhert.

Even if the here proposed assumption that Coornhert did play a role in the intellectual conception of the prints is correct, his direct involvement is bound to have been modest of nature. After his return to his home town, the Haarlem humanist was, as has been mentioned, immediately involved in time-consuming debates on matters of religion and politics. He was also allowed to take up the office of notary in the city, the same position he had held before his arrest and subsequent flight from Holland in 1568. There were probably no opportunities at all to make the, both in subject and composition, complicated designs of Galle's religious allegories. Moreover, this was a task that Philips Galle - with or without the assistance of Goltzius - was perfectly capable of performing himself. On the other hand the many close parallels between Coornhert's beliefs and Galle's publications of 1577-78, strongly suggest that the Antwerp printmaker was advised by his former master on the contents of these works, or, at the least, that his words and writings were used as the guideline for their conception.

Coornhert's return from exile - he returned to Holland in November 1576 and settled in Haarlem in March of 1577 - may thus have inspired Galle to publish a large coherent group of religious allegories, both engraved by Goltzius and by himself. In the face of the increasingly violent quarrels between Catholics and Calvinists, these works represent the best efforts of a dwindling group of 'middle-of-the-road' humanists on behalf of a generally acceptable Christian doctrine in which responsible ethical conduct played an important part. Even though they can certainly not be considered as dogmatic illustrations of Catholic doctrines, Galle's publications, nevertheless, do take a firm stand against several of the most important Calvinist doctrines. This is certainly the case with the described series focusing on the relation between the Christ's Last Judgement and man's conduct on earth. Comparable series like the *Seven sacraments* (1576) and the *Seven spiritual acts of mercy* (1577) also propagate doctrines that must have been unacceptable to anyone adhering to the Reformed Churches *(compare figs. 63-64)*.[139]

The question still remains to be answered why Galle took the initiative to publish these engravings in the period 1577-78. Following the prints produced in collaboration with Heemskerck and Junius in Haarlem, and the large series made together with Groenning and Arias Montano in Antwerp a few years earlier, these works were the last allegories of this type published by Philips Galle. From 1578 onwards his production of religious images changed considerably. At first he nearly stopped publishing religious subjects, fully concentrating on other themes. After 1585 this again changed: straightforward illustrations of the New Testament, series of prints devoted to the life and acts of saints and didactic prints unequivocally elucidating the doctrines of Catholic faith soon gained the upper hand. This course of events might be explained by considering the religious and political events in these years more closely, both in Antwerp - where Galle lived and worked - and Haarlem, his former home town and the city where Goltzius and Coornhert came to live in 1577.

After the disastrous Spanish Fury - as the looting of Antwerp by mutinous soldiers hired by the Spanish Crown is called - in November 1576, the city was taken over by troops under command of William of Orange in August of 1577.[140] Among many other changes, this led to freedom of religion for the fast growing community of Calvinists and Lutherans. Despite a treaty of religious tolerance signed on 29 August 1578, tensions between the various communities of faith grew day by day. The momentum of power was, in fact, so rapid that from 1579 onwards the Calvinists effectively ruled the city, while life became increasingly difficult for the Catholic Church, losing power, possessions and in the end even their right to hold services. It did not last very long. After a siege of one year, the Duke of Farnese recaptured the city in 1585 and reinstated the authority of the Spanish Crown and of the Catholic Church. A similar situation, but with a different outcome, existed in Haarlem.[141] After the Pacification Treaty of Ghent, a general treaty trying to ensure peace and freedom of religion in the Netherlands, was signed in November of 1576, Haarlem soon joined the league of cities revolting against the Spanish authorities and led by William of Orange. Here, as in the rest of the Low Countries, the ideals of religious tolerance did not last very long.[142] The Calvinists seized power, and were not to loose it again.

To put it briefly, in 1577-78 the religious situation in both cities was rather chaotic: Catholics were loosing power, while Calvinists were gaining. In the meantime small groups of humanists - like Coornhert in Haarlem and the circle of Plantin in Antwerp - cherished their ideals of religious tolerance. Galle's prolific production of religious allegories must probably be interpreted against this

background. As religion stood at the very heart of the turmoils of the day, Galle must have felt sure of a potential public interested in such publications. The more general series, such as the *Life of Christ* and *Allegories of faith*, could appeal to adherents of all convictions, while others - such series as *Virtutum vitiorumque ..... encomia, Seven sacraments* or *Seven acts of mercy* - doubtlessly were intended for a Catholic public.[143] Whether, in the wake of the endeavours of his spiritual mentor Coornhert, Philips Galle had any hopes of spreading the ideals of an ethical, Erasmian Christianity to a larger public cannot be ascertained. None of the discussed series includes any introductory statements which could shed light on the intention of its publisher. Perhaps one can perceive some of Galle's personal concerns with the dichotomy between the Reformed and Catholic Churches by examining one of the engravings of the series *Allegories of faith*, namely *Disagreement in the Church (fig. 65)*.[144] Although there are no references at all to the turbulent events of the day, it is obvious that all of Philips Galle's contemporaries must have immediately recognized this image as a warning relating to the fierce religious strives of their own day.

Whatever his motives may have been, after 1578 Galle suddenly stopped producing such prints. It stands to reason that this decision must have been in part inspired by the rise to power of the Calvinists. As a (heterodox) Catholic the print publisher must have deemed it wiser to concentrate on subjects that could not bring about any possible irritations of the Antwerp authorities.

Antwerp 1574-1585; the emergence of Stradanus and De Vos as print designers

In 1574 Galle engraved and published his first engravings after the two artists who in the next two decades were to become the most important print designers he would employ: the Flemish-Florentine painter commonly known as Johannes Stradanus - the Latin version of his name Jan van der Straet, also found in its Italian equivalent Giovanni Stradano - and the Antwerp master Maarten de Vos.[145] Besides the fact that both these works belong to the best prints Galle ever engraved himself and were produced in exactly the same year, the nature of the collaboration between Galle and these two respective artists and the consequent results do not have much in common.

Johannes Stradanus

In 1569 Stradanus had finished an important commission in the SS. Annunziata in Florence: the painting of a large canvas rendering the crucified Christ on Mount Golgotha as the main altarpiece in the so-called Galli-chapel. His kinsman Karel van Mander, who had seen the painting *in situ*, would later describe this work with the following words: "In Florence, in the church of the Annunciation, he made a large, prominent piece, a Crucifixion in which, among other things, the soldiers dampen or immerse the sponge in a vat of vinegar - this design is engraved, and published in print too."[146] The print which Van Mander refers to is, in fact, Galle's engraving of 1574 *(fig. 66)*. At an earlier stage, Stradanus had produced a (undated) drawing in reverse after his own painting, clearly intended as preparatory drawing for an engraver *(fig. 67)*.[147] Whether the artist at that point already had Philips Galle in mind is uncertain. Previously, Stradanus had made designs for prints - on commission or on his own initiative is unknown - on behalf of Hieronymus Cock. After the

latter's death in 1570 Stradanus still supplied the print-shop *Aux quatre vents* with some designs, but it must have been clear to him that the Cock-enterprise was quickly losing its importance.[148] Stradanus may also have had financial interests in looking for a publisher who could engrave and publish his drawings. In 1571 he had disengaged himself completely from the workshop of his former master Giorgio Vasari, and settled down as an independent painter. It is interesting to note that nearly all prints after his design were produced after this date. Besides the fact that he himself came from Flanders, it is no wonder that Stradanus tried his luck in Antwerp in this respect. There were scarcely any print publishers in Italy - and certainly not in Florence - who could compete with the number and quality of the reproductive engravings issued by Cock, Galle, Gerard de Jode, the Sadeler family and the like. On the other hand, Philips Galle was a keen publisher who must have realized the potential market for 'modern' Italian designs in the Netherlands and who could make good use of a prolific draughtsman able to produce large series of designs on the most varied subjects.

In 1574 the two of them did not know each other in person yet. Although many authors, without any documentary proof, have mentioned an Italian sojourn by Philips Galle, this is highly improbable. Not only is there lack of any factual evidence, but there also seems to have been scarcely any time for such a journey, given the large numbers of prints produced each year by Galle and his workshop. Stradanus, on the other hand, had left Flanders for Italy around 1550 and was only to return there in the years 1576-78, following his then patron Don Juan of Austria.[149] There can be no doubt at all that at this occasion, during his stay in the Southern Netherlands, the painter must have been in regular contact with Galle. From this period onwards the collaboration between Galle and Stradanus - which until then had only resulted in the above *Crucifixion* and possibly a few other undated engravings - was strongly intensified.[150] This led, for instance, to such series as the *Royal stable of Don Juan of Austria* of 1577/78, the first of many elaborate series of hunts in 1578 and a large series on the history of the Medici family in 1583.

Religious subjects were, however, not their prime focus of attention at that time. Some undated large size engravings after major altarpieces by Stradanus in Florence were incised by Philips Galle himself. Judging by style and technique, these works - illustrating traditional biblical themes as Christ driving the money-makers out of the temple *(compare fig. 68)* - were most probably issued in the period before 1580.[151] But in general most series and single engravings of saints and devotional subjects were only engraved and published after 1585. One of the notable exceptions which deserves to be mentioned in this respect is the *Madonna of the Rosary (fig. 69)*. This hitherto unrecorded print was published by Philips Galle in 1577 and, as the combination of this date and the twice repeated inscription "Johannes Stradanus inventor" suggests, probably engraved after a drawing that the Florentine master made during his stay in Flanders.[152] The composition is of a type that will become rather traditional in the seventeenth century: the Virgin, surrounded by angels, is rendered in the centre of a rose tree, which in turns holds roundels with the representations of the fifteen mysteries of the Rosary in its branches.[153]

This last engraving is highly interesting in two respects. In the first place it is one of the very first outright devotional subjects Galle ever published. Furthermore, the same composition was reused by Galle to produce another engraving of the same subject at least fifteen years later *(fig. 70)*. This second *Madonna of the Rosary*, engraved by an anonymous member of the Galle workshop, was probably issued around 1585/90.[154] Not only was the general composition repeated, but exact copies

were made after the fifteen roundels and the two angels on the lower foreground of the engraving of 1577. Although the print bears the signature "Ioan. Strada. invent." it has to be doubted if Stradanus did in fact himself rework his own composition. The completely changed image of the Virgin in the centre does not at all resemble the work of the ageing Florentine artist, but is a rather prototypic Madonna as found in Antwerp art around the turn of the century. This again shows how print publishers kept using and reusing their stock of plates and prints. In some cases, an old plate might simply be reprinted, in others a plate might be adapted to new requirements *(compare figs. 11 and 13)*, while a printmaker could also, like in the case of this Stradanus composition, use whatever was necessary from earlier issues to recreate another composition according to new demands. In this case, one might speculate on the possibility that the necessity of adding the Trinity to the composition compelled Galle to engrave a new plate instead of simply reworking and reprinting the old one of 1577.

Given the described religious turmoils of the time and the growing number and political influence of the Calvinists in Antwerp, Galle obviously became cautious in publishing such outright Catholic subjects after 1578. This did not count for the *Acta apostolorum* or *Acts of the apostles,* a series that was, as described above, begun by Maarten van Heemskerck and finished by Stradanus.[155] Apparently Galle considered these rather straightforward representations taken from the New Testament to be acceptable as general Christian images and he consequently published the series in its completed state in 1582 *(compare fig. 71)*.

Another major Stradanus series that probably dates from the period around 1580 is the *Passio, mors et resurrectio domini nostri Iesu Christi*, or, more simply the *Life and Passion of Christ*.[156] This beautifully engraved, undated series consists of a title page, an engraved dedication to Cardinal Ferdinando de'Medici, a portrait of Stradanus engraved by Johannes Wierix and 38 engravings illustrating the life of Christ *(figs. 72-74)*.[157] The subject matter is rendered in a narrative manner, each print concentrating on one episode from the Passion. In contrast to Galle's prints after, for example, Heemskerck no additional representations are added in the background. The Latin verses in the margin, of which the author is unknown, are of a general explanatory nature. Neither in the verses, nor in the images are any of those humanist allusions which were so characteristic of Galle's earlier production of religious prints.

Only two of the engravings bear the signature of Galle himself, thirteen are signed by Adriaen Collaert and the rest has no indication of the engraver involved. The series has to be dated before 1587, the year in which Ferdinando de'Medici laid down his ecclesiastical dignity to become the Grand Duke of Tuscany and the successor to his deceased brother Francesco. The style of both the engravings and the designs strongly suggest that the series should be dated around 1580.[158] If this assumption is correct, the thirteen signed engravings by Adriaen Collaert would be among the earliest known works of this engraver, who came to be one of the major craftsmen working for Philips Galle from circa 1580 up to 1595.[159]

Some five years later Galle and Stradanus produced yet another major series of prints entitled *Passio, mors et resurrectio domini nostri Iesu Christi*. This (again undated) series consists of an engraved title page and 20 numbered engravings after new designs by Stradanus *(figs. 75-76)*.[160] Why Galle decided to replace his earlier Passion series by a new one, remains uncertain. None of the known impressions of the first Passion show signs of serious damage or excessive wear of the plates. Perhaps

the compositions were considered to be old-fashioned or, more likely, the publisher just wanted to try his luck at marketing yet another album of prints. Judging by the enormous number of engraved Passions - a subject that stands at the core of Christian belief and as such was potentially in demand by adherents of both the Catholics and the adherents of the Reformed Churches - published in Antwerp around 1600, there must indeed have been a ready market for such prints.

Although they lack the dramatic vigour and expressive burin lines of the earlier series, the new designs are decidedly more elegant. All compositions are surrounded by ornamental borders - a taste that became more and more prominent in Antwerp printmaking after 1580.[161] The images - again strictly narrative of nature and each concentrating on one decisive moment from the Passion - are also more closely linked to the verses of the Bible. In the lower margin of each print a few lines of Latin verse are quoted from one of the gospels, referring to the subject illustrated. An appropriate quotation from the prophecies of the Old Testament is added in the upper margin.

Despite the differences, the names involved in the production of the second Passion album are roughly the same as in the case of its predecessor. Of course Galle is its publisher - though he now did not engrave any prints himself - and Stradanus is the draughtsman of the designs. Adriaen Collaert, still working for the Galle workshop, engraved three plates, while Johannes Wierix again engraved one composition. Other printmakers were also involved: Crispijn van der Passe - who occasionally worked on behalf of Philips Galle - engraved two plates, Johannes Collaert - a relative (brother?, nephew?) of his slightly older namesake Adriaen - no less than twelve and Galle's eldest son Theodoor also incised two of the compositions.[162] Galle's second *Passio, mors et resurrectio* is again dedicated to a member from the Medici family, on this occasion Cardinal Alessandro de'Medici. As archbishop of Florence this prelate - who as Leo XI (1605) was later to become one of the shortest reigning popes ever - resided in his home town in the years 1584 to 1589. In this period Alessandro bestowed Stradanus with major commissions for murals and oil paintings in his Florentine residence, the Palazzo della Gherardesca. Although the dedication on the title page does not mention any particulars, one can safely assume that the painter 'humbly' dedicated the series to Alessandro de'Medici as a token of gratitude for his patronage.[163]

A final word should be said on the dating of this Passion album, as it is one of the major print series produced by Galle, involving both Stradanus as well as several of the most prolific engravers in his workshop. Work on the series probably started around 1585, as in this period the engraver Crispijn de Passe - who engraved two plates of the series - was employed by the Galle workshop. In 1586 the studio had still not finished the series. This can be deduced from the fact that two engravings are signed by Theodoor Galle. As the latter's first known signed engraving - a single sheet of a Visitation after Stradanus, proudly mentioning that "Theodoor Galle engraved this at the age of 15" *(fig. 77)* - was made in 1586, one can presume that other signed works must be postdated.[164] At the very latest the series must have been published in 1589, when Alessandro de'Medici left Florence to return to the Vatican; Stradanus had already finished his work for the cardinal two years earlier.

Maarten de Vos

Returning once more to Maarten de Vos - the Stradanus prints published after 1585 will be discussed further down in this chapter - the first engraving to be discussed is the *Trinity* of 1574 *(fig. 78)*. It is not only the first known sheet Galle engraved and published after this Antwerp artist, but also one of the very first prints based on the De Vos's designs; the preparatory drawing (signed and dated 1573) also still exists.[165] It is interesting to note that Maarten de Vos, who was born in 1532, only started making print designs around 1575, when he was already a middle-aged painter of considerable repute. This may have had two reasons. In the first place, as mentioned in the case of Stradanus, there was a steadily growing demand for print designs to be engraved and published by the many Antwerp print-shops, whether large or small. Judging by the more than 1500 known prints produced after Maarten de Vos, his characteristic combination of Netherlandish traditions of painting and contemporary Italian influences were considered to be very apt for this purpose. On the other hand the painter probably also felt the financial need to try his hand at producing drawings for Antwerp printmakers. Certainly after the Spanish Fury in 1576, there was a growing political and economic crisis in Antwerp which clearly had its effect on the market for paintings.[166]

In contrast to Stradanus, Maarten de Vos never had such a close relationship with one single publisher. A remarkably large number of contemporary Antwerp printmakers issued prints after his design, most of them religious of subject. Many of these engravings were issued by small-scale print-shops, run by engravers who only occasionally published prints themselves. Of the larger workshops, Philips Galle, Gerard de Jode and Johannes Baptista Vrints were the most prominent publishers of prints after De Vos.[167] The fact that the painter lived and worked in Antwerp, where so many practitioners of the art of engraving were active, probably made it easier for De Vos to react immediately to any appeal made on his skill as a draughtsman. This, of course, was impossible in the case of Stradanus, who had to deal with Galle, or anyone else in Antwerp, from Florence. Given the slow means of transport - letters and parcels could either be sent by mail or given to the large number of kinsmen travelling to and from Italy - it would have been impossible for the Flemish-Italian painter to deal with an equal number of engravers and publishers as Maarten de Vos did. Another reason might be found in the fact that the relationship between Stradanus and Galle was certainly one of mutual friendship, whereas there are no indications at all - from documents, letters, dedications on prints and so forth - that Maarten de Vos in any way was a member of the humanist oriented circle of friends of Philips Galle. Their relationship seems to have had a strictly business-like character.[168]

Another difference between Maarten de Vos and Johannes Stradanus concerns their subject matter. The choice of subjects of Galle's prints after De Vos is rather limited, with a few exceptions the engravings are religious of nature. Although he provided Galle with at least 123 preparatory drawings for prints and series of prints during no less than twenty years (from 1574 until about 1595) there is none of the variety and versatility of Stradanus's designs. It is also difficult to date the prints produced, as they are hardly ever dated and show a remarkable consistency in style and technique. The choice of collaborators - after his 1574-engraving of the Trinity, Philips Galle did not incise any more prints after Maarten de Vos himself - does, however, strongly suggest that the majority of the prints was published after 1580.

Looking more closely at the iconography of the prints after Maarten de Vos, there is little of the Christian humanist approach of religious themes as found in Galle's prints of the '60s and '70s. The De Vos prints in general faithfully render biblical subjects or depict traditional devotional subjects. A representative example in this respect is the anonymous and undated engraving *David penitent and the angel (fig. 79)*. The print shows the Old Testament King David kneeling in repentance for God, who is avenging the former's disobedience by striking the people of Israel with pestilence. This refers to the words of II Samuel 24:17: "And David spoke unto the Lord when he saw the angel that smote the people and said, Lo, I have sinned, and I have done wickedly: but these sheep, what have they done? let thine hand, I pray thee, be against me, and against my father's house." The composition is rather straightforward, concentrating on David kneeling in the foreground and looking up at the angel, who in turn holds a sword, a scourge and a skull as the symbols of his atrocious mission.[169] The city in the background is Jerusalem, which would have been the next target of God's wrath were it not for David's penitence and the divine forgiveness. In the lower margin there are verses by the Antwerp humanist Cornelis Kiliaan - a proofreader working for Christophe Plantin and a frequent author of such verses on prints by Galle.[170] These lines are nothing less than an elegant recapitulation of the Bible verses, not referring to any other possible meaning. Although some Counter-Reformatorian theologians considered the penitent David as one of the Old Testament prefigurations of the Sacrament of Confession, there are no actual indications for such an overt catholic interpretation of this particular print.[171]

Repentance and forgiveness is also the subject of a large series of prints published by Philips Galle after designs by Maarten de Vos: *Typus divinae indulgentiae*, ten engravings by Adriaen Collaert with examples of repentant sinners from the Old and New Testament.[172] Most interesting sheet of the series is the title page *(fig. 80)*. This allegorical composition shows how the remorseful sinner *(Poenitens)* is led away from his sinful past, symbolized by the devil *(Peccatum)*. Through guidance by God's mercy *(Misericordia Dei)* and true penance *(Poenitentia)*, here represented by the woman seated on top of the hill, he can partake heavenly glory as shown in the upper left corner. A quotation from the Old Testament enhances the meaning: "Therefore also now, saith the Lord, turn ye even to me with all your heart, and with fasting, and with weeping, and with mourning: And rend your heart, and not your garments, and turn unto the Lord your God: for he is gracious and merciful, slow to anger, and of great kindness, and repenteth him of the veil." (Joel 2:12-13).

It is quite clear that De Vos, probably on recommendation by Galle, copied an earlier engraving of the same subject, an *Allegory of penance and divine mercy* engraved by Hendrick Goltzius and published by Philips Galle in 1578 *(fig. 81)*.[173] The composition is identical, as are all the iconographic details. It is interesting to note that the personification of penance, carrying the attributes of the scourge (self-discipline) and washbasin (purification), reappeared around 1590 in yet another engraving issued by Galle *(fig. 82)*. This engraving of Penance was part of the *Prosopographia*, a highly interesting series of personifications of human virtues and vices that will be discussed more extensively below.[174]

Philips Galle and Maarten de Vos not only reused the central composition of Goltzius's earlier engraving, but they also repeated all the subjects of the smaller representations in the ornamental border in the nine remaining engravings of the *Typus divinae indulgentiae*. Each of these engravings illustrates a characteristic moment of remorse and mercy from the Old and New

Testament, such as the Israelites destroying the graven images of Baal and the return of the prodigal son. Each engraving is accompanied by one or two appropriate verses from the Bible. As in the case of the title page, the tenth and last engraving of the series illustrates a more abstract and allegorical subject *(fig. 83)*. On the right side one can here see the remorseful sinner *(Homo poenitens)* being led by angels and two female companions *Poenitentia* (penance) and *Dolor* (remorse) on the road to heavenly bliss. Here the verses in the margin are Christ's well-known words from the Gospel of St. Luke: "I say unto you, that likewise joy, shall be in Heaven over one sinner that repenteth, more than over ninety and nine just persons, which need no repentance ..... Likewise I say unto you, there is joy in the presence of the angels of God over one sinner that repententh." (Luke 15:7/11). Of course, it can be hardly accidental that these words are the prelude to Christ's parable of the prodigal son.

One wonders if the Typus *divinae indulgentiae* was perhaps conceived especially to appeal to both Catholics and the adherents of the Reformed Churches. The subject was certainly acceptable to both convictions, although some Calvinist theologians might have found some aspects in contradiction with the doctrine of predestination. There is, however, one conspicuous detail. In the two (here illustrated) engravings where God is present, he is not shown in an anthropomorphous manner to which some Calvinists could take offense. Instead God is represented by the so-called Tetragrammaton, the four Hebrew letters of his name. Even though some Catholic theologians also had their objections against anthropomorphous images, one will find the representation of God as a bearded old man very common in the iconography of the Counter-Reformation.[175] It is by all means possible that Philips Galle commissioned the designs of this series from Maarten de Vos in the period shortly before 1585, when the Calvinists were still in power in Antwerp. Style and technique of the engravings also seem to corroborate this hypothesis.[176]

Also made in the period around 1585 were three series of Old Testament prints, engraved by Crispijn de Passe after designs by Maarten de Vos. De Passe - who had married a niece of the Antwerp painter - was first recorded in the archives of the guild of St. Luke in 1584. He could, however, certainly have been living and working in the city before this date. He was employed by Galle to engrave prints - mainly after De Vos - around 1585 until possibly as late as 1588. Contrary to current opinions, Crispijn de Passe only then left Antwerp on account of his Mennonite conviction.[177] Although the printmaker continued to work with Maarten de Vos after leaving Antwerp, he did certainly not work on behalf of Philips Galle any more after this date.[178] The Old Testament series he did engrave for the Antwerp publisher are strikingly similar in composition, technique and iconography: each is a series of six circular scenes, rendering a well-known biblical narrative (Adam and Eve, Noah and Jonah) in a straightforward manner *(compare fig. 84)*. The engravings themselves are undated, but there four known preparatory drawings by Maarten de Vos, all dated 1585.[179] With such religious images Galle seemed to aim at a wide potential public, although the consistent anthropomorphous representation of God the Father may have angered some Calvinist hard-liners.

This would be (deliberately) much more so in the case of the *Three sacrifices during the three ages of the world (fig. 85)*. This unusually large engraving - 37 x 54 cm. printed from one single copperplate - was published by Philips Galle in 1588. The engraver of De Vos's design was again Adriaen Collaert, while the verses were composed by the humanist Johannes Boghe, town clerk of the city of Antwerp.[180] Here there is little doubt about the Counter-Reformatorian character of the engrav-

ing. Represented are, in the three ovals from left to right, the different sacrifices during the three ages of the world. First comes the era of the natural law - the period when there was not yet any formal church - here symbolized by the offerings of Cain and Abel, Noah's thank-offering after the flood and Abraham's offer of the lamb after nearly having sacrificed his son. In the central oval the period of the law of the Old Testament is represented by means of the priest Aaron sacrificing according to the decrees of God, while in the background Moses receives the Tables of the Law with God's commandments for the chosen people. To the right the sacrifice during the period of the law of grace of the New Testament - the result of Christ's Passion - is illustrated by means of a congregation, clad in contemporary sixteenth-century dress, celebrating mass.[181]

Of course there can be little doubt that this last image shows a deliberate emphasis - certainly in Antwerp in 1588 when many residents were still sympathizing with the Reformed convictions - on the opinions of the Catholic Church on the Eucharist. The engraving clearly shows a priest celebrating mass and, turned towards the altar, holding up the sacred host towards Heaven. Thus the much disputed Catholic doctrine of the transubstantiation is unequivocally confirmed. Boghe's verses also underscore the importance of the dogma's concerning the Eucharist. To what extent Philips Galle took the initiative of this particular engraving is uncertain. The engraved dedication underneath the central oval, does provide some clues regarding the genesis of the print. Richard Verstegan - a British humanist who had fled from his country on cause of his belief and became an influential author of religious works in Flanders - dedicated the print to his fellow-countryman William Allen, a prelate who was head of the English College at the University of Douai and in August of 1587 was surprisingly appointed as a cardinal by Pope Sixtus V.[182] It is not strange to find the names of these two English expatriates connected to a print staunchly defending Catholic doctrines. Verstegan was well-known as an author of polemical writings against the Calvinists, while Allen's English College at Douai had the reputation of breeding orthodox missionaries to be sent to England - a dangerous mission that could cost one's life.[183] To what extent Verstegan was involved in the production of the Galle/De Vos print, or in the conception of its iconographic details, cannot be ascertained. Taking the lengthy dedication, Verstegan's reputation and the subject of the print into account, one can, nevertheless, speculate on the fact that the Englishman in exile was one of the initiators of this monumental and costly engraving.

There are several other single engravings after Maarten de Vos which, even though they are undated, have such a clear (Catholic) devotional character, that must consequently have been issued after 1585. The in itself neutral central composition of the Rest on the flight to Egypt is, for instance, surrounded by a border with twelve smaller scenes, each of which shows a symbolic image referring to the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin *(fig. 86)*.[184] Another characteristic example of De Vos's later devotional compositions is the *Madonna of the Rosary (fig. 87)*, an engraving by Johannes Collaert relating - as do Stradanus's renderings of this subject *(compare figs. 69 and 70)* - to the immense popularity of this particular devotion of the Virgin.[185]

A particularly interesting engraving is the large Saints Francis and Diego of Alcala, engraved around 1590 by Adriaen Collaert *(fig. 88)*.[186] Subject of the engraving is, in fact, the life of the fifteenth-century Spanish Saint Diego of Alcala, a Franciscan monk who was canonized by the Vatican in 1588. On this occasion the Antwerp minorites installed a chapel in honour of the newly won of their order, including a commission for an altarpiece by Maarten de Vos.[187] Collaert's engraving faith-

fully reproduces this painting - now in the Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten in Antwerp - in the same direction. The central composition shows Diego standing in reverence opposite to Saint Francis, the founding father of the order to which the Spaniard belonged. Around the two saints eleven numbered scenes illustrate the life of Diego (who is also known as St. Didacus) from his youth on the upper left until his dying hour (on the right) and finally the posthumous miracles after his death (in the upper right corner and at the top centre).

This undated engraving must have been published by Philips Galle around 1590, and not after 1600 as is generally assumed.[188] A first date *ante quem* can be inferred from the dedication to King Philip II, who died in 1598. This dedication by Hendrik Sedulius - the guardian of the Franciscan community in Antwerp - was not so much to honour the Spanish king as sovereign of the Netherlands, but rather to express gratitude for his profound commitment to the canonization of the monk. The name of Sedulius underneath the dedication to Philip II, provides us with yet another clue: he was superior in Antwerp until 1591.[189] Finally, the fact that Adriaen Collaert engraved the work on behalf of Philips Galle makes a date around 1600 highly improbable. Collaert had set up his own workshop by 1594 at the very latest, and does not seem to have worked for his father-in-law any more.[190]

The survey of Galle's production of religious prints after Maarten de Vos will be concluded with two closely related series of exemplary Christian women published around 1590/95. It here concerns two series of prints - engraved by Galle's workshop assistants Adriaen and Johannes Collaert and Karel de Mallery - devoted to illustrious women from the Old and New Testament respectively *(compare figs. 89-91)*.[191] Each of these engravings shows a female personage from the Bible standing or sitting in a landscape, holding attributes relating to the story on which their fame rests. In the background a more elaborate version of the particular Bible story referred to is engraved. One can see, for example, Jael standing with her hammer and tent pin, while in the background to the right (see Judges 4:21 and 5:26-27) the heroine kills the infamous Sisera by driving the peg through his head *(fig. 89)*. Besides obvious protagonists from the New Testament such as Anne, Elisabeth and Mary Magdalene, the second series also illustrates the anonymous women featuring in the life of Christ as found in the Gospels. A fine example is the *Woman taken in adultery*, where, as described in the Gospel of St. John (8:1-11), in the background to the left Christ is shown stooping down on the floor of the temple and admonishing his followers only to cast a stone when they themselves are free of all sins *(fig. 91)*.[192] The short explanatory Latin verses in the lower margins of both series are by Cornelis Kiliaan.

The purpose of such series is self-evident. They provide the viewer with illustrious women, whose lives and deeds are intended as paragons. Even in the case of such 'sinners' as the adulterous woman, Christ's forgiveness serves as an explicit moral example.[193] This tradition is well established in Netherlandish printmaking in the sixteenth century. Philips Galle himself, for instance, had engraved a series of eight celebrated women from the Bible after designs by Maarten van Heemskerck around 1560.[194] Such series convey a general Christian moral and can hardly be interpreted as specifically Reformatorian or Counter-Reformatorian of nature. It is, however, interesting to see the difference between the manner the Virgin is rendered in the early Heemskerck print and the much later representation by De Vos *(compare figs. 90 and 92)*. Whereas the first renders Mary as a humble woman, modestly looking away from the spectator. Standing in a barren landscape with ruins, the only reference of Mary's motherhood of Christ is the flight of the Holy Family to Egypt in the left

background. The verses in the margin emphasize the impossibility of any painting to capture the (divine) qualities of her nature. In contrast, Johannes Collaert's engraving after Maarten de Vos is a prototypic devotional representation of the Virgin with child. The Madonna is here depicted against a radiance of light and clouds, accentuating the miraculous and divine of her appearance. Here Kiliaan's verses strike a more optimistic note, mentioning the joy she has brought to the world. This, of course, refers to her giving birth to the saviour of mankind, as the Annunciation in the background to the left also points out.

Although, as already stated, the subject of De Vos's two series of celebrated biblical women cannot said to be specifically Counter-Reformatorian, some individual prints such as the Virgin with child are entirely in keeping with the revived veneration of the Virgin in Antwerp after 1585. Even though both albums of prints are undated, Galle's choice of collaborators (Kiliaan, the Collaert's and De Mallery) makes a publishing date before 1585 highly improbable. This is corroborated by the dedications of the two title pages, both of which are addressed to the wives of high ranked officials at the Spanish court in Brussels.[195] In the decade before 1585, a dedication of this kind by an Antwerp publisher - especially in the case of Galle, who was known to be pro-Orange in his political opinions - was not bound to be very common.[196]

In conclusion, from circumstantial evidence such as subjects, dedications and choice of collaborators one can surmise that by far the largest part of Philips Galle's prints and series of prints after Maarten de Vos has been produced between 1584/85 and 1595 at the very latest. As has been said, this coincides with the declining market for paintings and the increasing market for religious prints in Antwerp after 1575. When one studies the list of dated prints engraved after designs by De Vos, the numbers start to rise rapidly after 1580, reaching its zenith in the years 1584 to 1586 and slowly declining again after 1587. This last decline seems to relate to the growing number of commissions for religious paintings after the Catholic Church had reinstated its power in the city on the Scheldt.[197] In contrast to the astonishingly large number of subjects drawn by Stradanus, nearly all the prints Galle engraved and published after designs by Maarten de Vos are religious of subject. As a publisher Philips Galle, or in some cases a humanist or theologian on his behalf, probably decided on the subject and the general iconographic composition of a print or a series of prints. Given Maarten de Vos's long-standing experience with intricate religious subjects, one can safely assume that the painter was also involved in such matters. It must, however, generally have been the publisher who decided what to issue, then commissioning the draughtsman to produce the preparatory designs.[198]

In contrast to Galle's earlier religious works - such as the engravings after Maarten van Heemskerck, the works produced in collaboration with Benito Arias Montano or the prints incised by the young Goltzius - the engravings made after De Vos do not seem to reflect the religious persuasion of either the engraver or the designer. The heterodox opinions of the (Roman Catholic) Philips Galle have been amply discussed above. Maarten de Vos was a Lutheran, who seemingly had wanted to leave Antwerp after 1585, but who was prevented from doing so by practical and financial concerns. Consequently, as all other adherents of the Reformed Churches who wanted to stay in Antwerp after 1589, the painter (at least formally) converted to the Catholic faith.[199] Like Galle, De Vos suppressed his own persuasion and after 1585 soon became the leading Antwerp painter of religious subjects, entirely following the ideals of the Counter-Reformation. This tendency can also

be found in several of the (series of) prints Galle produced after his design, while others - especially the Old Testament series made around 1585 - were of a more general religious nature.

"Illustrated with images by the most famous painter Johannes Stradanus;" Stradanus's religious prints after 1585[200]

A sharp distinction can be made between Galle's production of religious prints before 1585 and the production thereinafter. In brief, the period after the fall of Antwerp is characterized by an enormous increase in single devotional prints (many of them after designs by Stradanus), an increase of prints inspired by current religious events (new popes, canonizations, Holy Years and the like) and prints related to religious orders, especially the Jesuits and the Franciscans. Above all, as already discussed above, the prints published after 1585 distinctly reveal the rapid growth of the influence of the Counter-Reformation. In the first place a general survey of the religious prints of this period - with numerous examples scrutinized in detail - will be given, before paying attention to some specific subjects (Jesuits, Franciscans and the intriguing series *Prosopographia*).

Of the devotional subjects Philips Galle issued, many were engraved after designs by Johannes Stradanus.[201] In 1590, for example, Theodoor Galle incised the *Virgin dropping her girdle in the hands of St. Thomas*, after a painted composition of the Bruges master in the chapel of the Conservatorio delle Mantellate in Florence.[202] Unfortunately this is one of the very few dated Stradanus prints in this genre. The subjects, style and the choice of collaborators, however, leave little doubt that most of the devotional prints after Stradanus were issued after Farnese had taken Antwerp in 1585. Galle's eldest son Theodoor, for that matter, was one of the engravers in the workshop who frequently incised plates after Stradanus's compositions. As his first known print - the *Visitation (fig. 77)* after Stradanus discussed above - is dated 1586, all other works must probably be of later date.

The nature of the designs that Stradanus sent to Antwerp differs from case to case. Not only in subject, but also regarding the quality of the original invention. Besides many compositions of his own, Stradanus on some occasions also delivered Philips Galle drawings after illustrious 'ancient' images of religious subjects. Interesting in this respect is, for instance, a diptych of two unrecorded engravings by Theodoor Galle: the *Virgin* and the *Angel of the Annunciation*, two sheets copied by Stradanus after the venerated painting of the Annunciation in the SS. Annunziata in Florence.[203] Or, to give another example of a trecento painting that was then considered to be of early Christian origin, one might consider Stradanus's version of the *Virgin with child* as found in the San Pietro Somaldi in Lucca *(fig. 93)*.[204] It was certainly not any art-historical interest that prompted Galle to issue engravings of this kind. They are solely rendered in copper as a result of their reputation as ancient devotional images, perhaps even of divine origin.

In other instances Stradanus supplied the Antwerp print-shop with drawings copied after one of his own painted inventions. This is usually mentioned in the inscriptions of the engravings. On the outskirts of Prato, in the church of St Anna, one can still see his painting the *Virgin and child with St. Anne and two saints* (Anthony of Padua and Augustine?). The engraving after this altarpiece was yet again engraved by Theodoor Galle, with an inscription accurately locating the work: "Johannes Stradanus painted this work in the convent of Saint Anne in the suburbs of Prato" *(fig. 94)*.[205] Another

example, attesting to the painter's pride in such works, is the *Generosity of St. Nicholas* (1585). This latter painting was commissioned by Cardinal Alessandro de'Medici for his palace in Florence. At a slightly later date the work was reproduced as an engraving by Galle's eldest son with an elaborate inscription referring to the original in the margin *(fig. 95)*.[206] The engraving of St. Nicholas is particularly interesting, as in this case the preparatory drawing Stradanus made for the engraver still exists. This sheet, now kept in the Uffizi, is dated 1588 and has a Dutch inscription in the margin in which the painter suggests the following to Philips Galle: "let elegant words here be written on the oppressive temptation by the devil, tormenting mankind and leading him into evil."[207] These words reflect on the three impoverished maidens who were restrained at the last moment from an 'immoral' course of life by means of the three golden balls tossed into their room by the saint, thus providing them with enough dowry to marry. Although the tenor of the moralizing Latin verses were in the end slightly different - focusing on the merits of chastity - this handwritten note by Stradanus clearly shows that the painter, at least on some occasions, was involved in deciding on the nature of the accompanying verses in the margin.

Most of the religious Stradanus prints, however, were not made after extant compositions, but after designs specifically intended to be engraved by the Galle workshop. The subjects differ. Some render episodes from the Bible, though nearly always limited to the New Testament. A fine example is *Christ discussing with Nicodemus at night*, incised by Johannes Wierix *(fig. 96)*.[208] As is often the case, the inscription is limited to a simple (Latin) quotation from the Bible verses involved: "Jesus answered, Verily, verily, I say unto thee, Except a man be born of water and of the spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God." (John 3:5). This quotation is traditionally interpreted as a reference to baptism as a prerequisite for entering Heaven. As this is one of the few sacraments maintained by the Reformed Churches, the subject can hardly be interpreted as particularly Counter-Reformatorian in character. This is different in the case of, for instance, the unsigned *Angels with the Sudarium and the Arma Christi (fig. 97)*.[209] This engraving, probably from the hand of Philips Galle himself, is of a devotional nature that could barely have appealed to anyone inclined towards the Reformed convictions. The inscription in the margin is extremely short - "he hath no form nor comeliness" (Isaiah 53:2) - and is quoted from a well-known Old Testament prefiguration of Christ as the Man of Sorrows. Other engravings were accompanied by more elaborate verses, usually composed by Cornelis Kiliaan.[210] Besides large numbers of biblical subjects and devotional prints related to Christ and the Virgin, Stradanus also produced numerous designs for engravings of saints. These compositions were often straightforward, fully concentrating on the saint involved - either shown full-length against a neutral grey background, on other occasions depicted in a landscape. As one would expect these single sheets for the most part rendered popular saints, whose images would be in demand by the public. Consider, for example, Adriaen Collaert's engraving of St. Martin, without doubt one of the most popular saints at the time *(fig. 98)*.[211] Sometimes, however, less obvious saints were illustrated by Stradanus. The cult of St. Reparata was modest and largely limited to Florence and Tuscany. The print Galle published of this early Christian martyr - again engraved by Adriaen Collaert - may well have been the only representation to have been made in the Low Countries *(fig. 99)*.[212] This raises the question if Philips Galle may have had specific markets in mind for particular prints.

Besides single engravings - the lion's share of Stradanus's print designs after 1585 - there were also several series published after his inventions. An interesting example of one of the smaller series, is *Man in his dying hour.* This undated series by Karel de Mallery consists of four sheets, that illustrate the successive (ideal) events during the death of a human: man surrounded by his family on his deathbed, the last confession, the administration of the last sacraments and man's soul received into Heaven *(fig. 100).*[213] Although the subject stands in the discussed popular tradition of depicting the Last Judgement and the four last things - admonishing every Christian to keep his mortality and the judgement of his soul after death in mind at all times - there is a conspicuous difference with many of the earlier engravings of this subject. In two of the four prints, the sacraments performed by the Catholic priests are clearly shown as prerequisites for the purification and salvation of one's soul. It is exactly this new emphasis on the quintessential importance of the (Catholic) Church and its representants, that illustrates the influence the Counter-Reformation had on religious images of all sorts.[214]

Aside from several more traditional series - such as the capital sins and virtues engraved by the Wierix brothers and the life of St. John the Baptist by Cornelis Galle - Stradanus's most important and interesting print series of this later period, is the *Encomium musices.*[215] This series, engraved by Adriaen Collaert, consists of a title page, a typographically printed introduction and 16 numbered engravings *(figs. 101-102).* Although the series is undated, the choice of collaborators does provide some clues. The engravings are ornated with Latin poems in the lower margins, composed by the Antwerp humanist Johannes Boghe. As he is referred to on the title page as town clerk of the city, the series must have been made after 1585, the year in which Boghe had taken up this office.[216] On the other hand the series was most probably made before Collaert set up his own workshop around 1593/94.

The *Encomium musices* (The eulogy of music) sets out to illustrate the role of music in the Holy Writ. In a one-page introduction to the reader, Philips Galle dedicates the series to those who are well acquainted with this art. After praising the art of music and its benevolent effects on body and soul, the publisher informs the reader that the subject of the series is to depict all notable passages from the Bible where music is mentioned. Judging by the words "brought together from the Bible by Philips Galle" on the title page and by his elaborate introduction - which the publisher apparently only included in series he himself held in high regard - Galle must have been the *auctor intellectualis* of this highly innovative iconography. Mostly taken from the Old Testament, the beautifully engraved compositions concentrate on illustrating verses that previously always had been overshadowed by the main Biblical narratives. A characteristic example is the fourth print from the series: *The Israelites celebrating the drowning of the Pharaoh and his armies in the Red Sea (fig. 102).* Here the reversal of the traditional hierarchy is perfectly well illustrated. It is only in the background that one can see the well-known death of the pharaoh and his soldiers, as the Red Sea hurtles down on them. On the foreground to the left Moses sings the praise of the Lord together with his people as recounted in Exodus 15:1-18. On the foreground to the right the directly following verses are illustrated: "And Miriam the prophetess, the sister of Aaron, took a timbrel in her hand; and all the women went out after her with timbrels and with dances" (Exodus 15:20). Probably as nothing was known about ancient musical instruments and to enrich the rather poor cast of instruments - the Bible here only spoke of voices and timbrels - Stradanus added a great variety of contemporary instruments.

The *Encomium musices* is a quite appropriate series to conclude this long discussion of the religious prints produced by Galle after Stradanus's designs. Appropriate, not only as the engravings are among the best works the two published after 1585, but also on account of its innovative iconography. Also interesting in this respect is that fact that Adriaen Collaert, the engraver of the entire series, slowly seems to have taken over at least a part of Galle's near monopoly on publishing Stradanus prints in Antwerp. Although only a thorough research on all the prints designed by Stradanus - one of the obvious *desiderata* in the history of both Italian and Dutch art at the end of the sixteenth century - will be able to clarify importance of all the different publishers of Stradanus's works, it seems that after 1590 Adriaen Collaert slowly came to the fore as one of his main publishers.[217] After 1595 Galle published no (known) religious works after his Florentine friend. For whatever reason, Stradanus preferred to do business with Galle's son-in-law Collaert.[218] Perhaps, going into the realm of speculation, he had little confidence in the quality of the new generation of engravers in the Galle workshop. With the exception of Cornelis and Theodoor Galle - who both went to Italy in this period - a clear decline in the quality of engravings is discernible after 1595.[219]

The collaboration between Philips Galle and Johannes Stradanus must have been more than a strictly businesslike relation. They seemed to have shared a similar interest in- and knowledge of humanist subjects, both religious and profane. Moreover, the long-lasting and very intense cooperation also regularly attests to their mutual friendship. More than obligatory, are the many dedications in friendship Galle added to title pages and introductions of his publications. In this respect it is telling to reproduce two more engravings that indirectly pertain to both the private life of Stradanus and to the feelings of friendship Galle held for his compatriot in Florence. The first is the anonymous engraving of the *Virgin on her deathbed*, incised after Stradanus's son, pupil and collaborator Scipio *(fig. 103)*. As far as is known this is the only engraving ever made after the latter's design.[220] If not for the sake of his relation with the elder Stradanus, one can seriously wonder if Philips Galle would have ever considered reproducing a work of such a completely unknown artist at all. The second print is *St. Agatha*, engraved by Anthonie Wierix after Stradanus *(fig. 104)*.[221] The interesting feature in this case is the dedication. In the inscription in the margin Philips Galle pays tribute to Stradanus's daughter Prudentia. This devout woman, as Galle informs us, had taken her vows in the Florentine convent of St. Agatha. Galle offers Prudentia this image of the saint as a testimony of her own piety and to further stimulate her virtuousness. While such dedications, when addressed to high-ranking Church and state officials and their family members, were often part of inevitable obligations of publishers to maintain good relations with possible patrons, the tribute to an otherwise unknown nun in Italy can only be understood as a true token of friendship with the Stradanus family.

The production of religious prints after 1595: designers

After Stradanus slowly stopped producing print designs on his behalf, Philips Galle seems to have had less need of designs by artists outside his own workshop. Producing a large number of prints - both single sheets, as well as series of engravings - with stereotypical devotional images, the publisher apparently could rely on the engravers in his own workshop to supply him with the compositions that were desired. Good use, however, was made of earlier prototypes by such artists as

De Vos and Stradanus. An interesting case in point is an unrelated series of engravings of the so-called *Sudarium*, St. Veronica's handkerchief that was miraculously impressed with the face of Christ after she had wiped off his sweat. At an unknown date, Galle had issued an engraving by Hieronymus Wierix of this subject after a design by Stradanus *(fig. 105)*, a print that is clearly related to the above engraving by Philips Galle himself *(compare fig. 97)*.[222] At a later date Wierix simply reused Stradanus's head of Christ on the Sudarium in another engraving published by Galle, showing this holy cloth surrounded by an ornamental border with the *Arma Christi (fig. 106)*[223] In this last case, no mention was made of the inventor. However, in several (probably slightly later) prints of the subject he issued himself, Hieronymus Wierix yet again used Stradanus's composition and just signed as if it were entirely his own.[224] Certainly regarding such stock images, engravers and publishers kept on using and reusing similar compositions with often only minor alterations. Such notions as artistic originality and copyright, were certainly looked at from an entirely different perspective in comparison to modern times.[225]

There are, of course, a few exceptions to this growing number of anonymous print designs. Unlike the long-standing relations with earlier collaborators (Heemskerck, Blocklandt, Maarten de Vos, Stradanus, etc.), Philips Galle now only incidentally teamed up with other artists. One of them was, for instance, the Antwerp painter Ambrosius Francken after whom Philips Galle published a small group of (religious) engravings in the last decade of the sixteenth century.[226] On other occasions prints were designed by Philips Galle or his son Theodoor. Both of them were clearly influenced by Stradanus and De Vos, after whose designs they had themselves engraved so many compositions. At some time before his departure to Italy Theodoor Galle, for example, designed and engraved a series of six hermits. The younger Galle's rendering of this subject - half-length images of the monks set against desert landscapes and displayed in a slightly distorted mannerist fashion - clearly betrays the Italianate influence of Stradanus and Maarten de Vos *(fig. 107)*.[227]

Another example which merits some attention is the young Dutch artist Gerrit Pietersz., who around 1594/95 stayed in Antwerp for some time on his way to Italy.[228] Arriving from Galle's home town Haarlem - where he been tutored in the art of painting in the workshop of Cornelis Cornelisz. van Haarlem - the painter contacted the ageing printmaker. Perhaps on recommendation of his former collaborator Goltzius, whom Pietersz. must have known quite well in Haarlem, Galle decided to publish three engravings after designs of the young artist, all of them incised by his son Cornelis. Two of them are of interest in this chapter: *Mankind before the Deluge (fig. 108)* and *Mankind before the Last Judgement*.[229] Although at first glance these engravings seem to render merry companies, a closer inspection of the iconographic details and, above all, the inscriptions in the margin, reveal that the works in fact illustrate three Bible verses: "But as the days of Noe were, so shall also the coming of the Son of man be. For as in the days that were before the flood they were eating and drinking, marrying and giving in marriage, until the day that Noe entered into the ark. And knew not until the flood came, and took them all away; so shall also be the coming of the Son of Man be." (Matthew 24:37-39). These verses - comparing man's lightheartedness leading to the Deluge with the threatening carelessness before the second coming of Christ - are a prelude to Christ's warning to his followers of the Apocalypse and the Last Judgement. Cornelis Galle's engravings can consequently be interpreted in the same way, as a reminder to all humans to constantly keep the end of the world in mind.[230] In this sense Gerrit Pietersz.' designs stand in the same tradition as the amply discussed and very popular prints of the Last Judgement and the four last things.

These two engravings, however, both in style and subject are rather exceptional in the production of the Galle workshop. It was a subject that was particularly popular with Dutch mannerist painters, who in part used the subject to display their proficiency in setting up an intricate composition with numerous nudes. It was also a subject that in Antwerp could, in fact, receive criticism for reasons of indecency from theologians in Counter-Reformatorian Flanders.[231]

Another intriguing development that is stand out against the mainstream of anonymously produced devotional subjects produced by Galle, is a group of engravings after well-known contemporary Italian masters. With a few exceptions Philips Galle had always chosen to engrave and publish designs by Netherlandish artists from his immediate surroundings, even if, in the case of Stradanus, such an artist were living in Florence.[232] It seems that, at least in the second half of the sixteenth century, the predominant interest of those who bought and collected prints in the Netherlands was in subject and certainly not in the merits of individual artists. Notwithstanding some engravings after famous works such as Michelangelo's *Last Judgement*, the demand for engravings after Italian masters apparently was not that large that it compelled major printmakers in the Low Countries to publish such engravings. This in contrast to their Italian colleagues.[233]

In the last two decades of the sixteenth century this began to change. The continuously growing numbers of artists, including a surprisingly large number of printmakers, travelling southwards, attest, among several other things, to a profound interest in Italian art. The same applies to Karel van Mander's biographical account of the history of this school of painting, as published in his *Schilder-boeck* of 1604.[234] The immediate cause of Philips Galle publishing several fine engravings after such painters as Titian, Federico and Taddeo Zuccaro, Federico Barocci, Francesco Vanni and Giovanni Battista Paggi, is, however, most probably not based on a sudden profound awareness of the importance of Italian art. It was rather the fact that, around 1595, his sons Theodoor and Cornelis had gone to Italy and made works directly available to be engraved and published. Interesting in this respect is that Galle hardly ever chose to reproduce profane subjects.[235] This marked preference for religious subjects was entirely in keeping with the developments within the Galle workshop, and was dictated by the market for prints in Antwerp.

From an iconographic perspective Galle's production of 'Italian' prints is not exceptionally interesting. The subjects represent a cross-section of popular and well-established devotional and biblical (Old and New Testament) subjects. They do, however, reflect the growing market for (religious) Italian art in Northern Europe and from this point of view warrant more attention than has been paid to them by art historians until now. It was primarily Cornelis Galle - he stayed in Italy at least until 1602, while Theodoor had certainly returned to Antwerp by 1597 - who engraved works after the above-mentioned artists, working both for his father as well as for several Italian publishers.[236] A particularly fine example is *Adam and Eve in paradise* after the Genoese painter Giovanni Battista Paggi *(fig. 109)*. Of this engraving a (rare) first state exists without the address of Philips Galle. This is extremely exceptional in the Galle workshop, and may indicate that the copperplate was first printed and published semi-illegally in Italy by Cornelis Galle and only then sent to Antwerp to be published (as illustrated here) with the address of Galle senior.[237] How and to what extent Galle and Paggi - who was living in exile in Florence, banned from his home town due to charges of manslaughter - became acquainted is unknown.

Of the Sienese artist Francesco Vanni, it is quite certain that he was acquainted with Cornelis Galle and personally stimulated the young printmaker to reproduce his inventions. One of the results of their collaboration is the *Holy Family (fig. 110)*. This engraving was published without any address, presumably in Italy. Slightly later, Philips Galle published an exact copy in reverse *(fig. 111)*. In contrast to the engraving by Paggi, Galle could apparently not use the original and thus ordered a copy to be made - possibly even by Cornelis Galle himself.[238] This seemingly illogical procedure may have been simple caused by the fact that the original copperplate was in fact property of another (Italian) publisher. It is certain, for instance, that Cornelis Galle engraved several plates on behalf of the Sienese publisher Matteo Florimi and then copied the same compositions for the Antwerp workshop of his father .[239]

Yet a different procedure was followed in the case of the last example cited of Galle's 'Italian connection', namely the *Adoration of the shepherds* after Taddeo Zuccaro *(fig. 112)*.[240] Here Cornelis Galle, who probably engraved the work, simply copied a famous and often copied engraving, incised nearly thirty years earlier by Cornelis Cort *(compare fig. 113)*. After his departure from Antwerp in 1565, Cort had soon become one of the most reputed engravers after contemporary Italian masters until his untimely death in 1578. It is thus not very surprising that, once Galle's interest in publishing Italian prints was aroused, he regularly copied the prints of his former colleague at the print-shop *Aux quatre vents*.[241]

The production of religious prints after 1595: anonymous engravers

Moving the focus of attention from the designers or 'inventors' to the engravers of the Galle workshop at the turn of the century, a similar tendency can be perceived. With the exception of Cornelis Galle, who around 1595 clearly emerges as by far the most talented engraver, the assistants employed by Philips Galle become increasingly anonymous. An entire generation of engravers had left the workshop, either temporarily - Galle's sons Theodoor and Cornelis were in Italy, though in part still working for their father - or permanently, as in the case of his sons-in-law Adriaen Collaert and Karel de Mallery who had set up their own print-shop. Their places were taken up by a new, technically far less talented generation of engravers. Their names nearly never appear on any engravings. In fact, such artists as Peter Backereel, Jean Baptiste Barbé or Christoffel Spierinck are only known from the guild records to have been employed by Philips Galle at one time or another.[242] Despite a general decline in quality of the prints he published, there was no fundamental change in the production of the workshop. In style and technique these new and anonymous generation of engravers simply followed the standards set by Galle and his pupils in the previous decades.

In subject, the emphasis on devotional subjects of these anonymous engravings is the same as in the case of the works discussed regarding to Stradanus. Numerous images of saints, Holy Families and the like were published, either as series or as single sheets. One striking new feature is, however, the appearance of emblematic religious prints. One of them is an (anonymous) engraving of the *Arma Christi* presented as a coat of arms *(fig. 114)*.[243] Like a prototypic emblem, a short (Latin) motto is engraved at the top: "The weapons of Jesus Christ the saviour." Below the coat of arms, containing all the traditional instruments of passion, further explanatory verses are engraved in three languages (Latin, French and Dutch): "Behold these weapons of Christ as they are shown before your eyes, they have conquered the flesh, death, world and devilish violence."[244]

Less straightforward and decidedly more interesting in its iconographic origin, is the (again anonymous) *Faith (fig. 115)*. Although I have previously presented this engraving as a simple and manifest example of the devotional (Catholic) prints produced by Philips Galle, the source of this emblem is rather surprising: one of the emblems in the *Icones*, a well-known illustrated book by the Calvinist leader Theodore de Bèze, first published in 1580.[245] It became a somewhat popular image in the seventeenth century, probably less due to De Bèze than to the fact that from 1603 onwards it was part of the illustrated editions of Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia*. Galle's version was certainly made before 1603 - when the Antwerp printmaker had practically stopped publishing prints. It seems quite certain that the engraving was modelled on De Bèze's original emblem of 1580.[246] This raises the question if the engraving has a specific Calvinist, rather than Counter-Reformatorian tenor, and was thus perhaps published before 1585, during the Calvinist regime in Antwerp. This is evidently not the case. Philips Galle dedicated this print to the Order of the Franciscans, who were banned from Antwerp by the Calvinists in 1579 and only returned in the wake of Farnese's triumphant entry of the city in 1585. Furthermore, the Galle engraving is an elaborated version of the earlier image, adding, amongst other things, such details as the dove (the traditional representation of the Holy Ghost) which may not have appealed to the Calvinist De Bèze.[247]

The engravings shows a female personification of Faith, or Religion as she named in the margin. In the upper margin the (Latin) motto is engraved: "Typus verae religionis" ("The image of true faith"). In the lower margin, the Latin verses explain the meaning of all the numerous attributes. This is done by means of didactically emphasized questions and answers, such as: "What does this bridle demonstrate? Answer: to curb the passions of the mind."[248] It is clear that whoever conceived this version of *Faith* - Galle himself, or more probably a Franciscan friar - knew the original of De Bèze and deliberately elaborated its iconography. Although this changed version is in itself not anti-Calvinist at all, one does suspect that it must have been, especially in Antwerp after 1585, an amusing challenge to adapt a design by the famous Calvinist leader in Geneva to the needs of the Counter-Reformation. But it also demonstrates to what extent both the Catholic and the Reformed Churches could make good use of the same type of imagery to clarify their principles of faith.

No such discussion on the nature of the subject is required in the case of the last single engraving discussed in this context. Around 1595/1600 Philips Galle issued an unsigned and undated *Exercise for meditation (fig. 116)*.[249] In short, this engraving urges every Christian to regularly meditate on one's attitude to life in relation to the articles of faith. Of course, such daily contemplation is necessary to partake heavenly bliss after the Last Judgement (to be seen at the top of the engraving) and to prevent going to Hell, as shown at the bottom. Prerequisites are the four cardinal virtues (justice, prudence, temperance and (moral) strength) as shown in the four corners. They will help both the just (praying at the left) as well as hopefully the sinner (sitting in his home to the right) to learn what has happened in the past ("scires"), then to understand what is going on today ("intelligeres") and finally to foresee what will happen in the future, after one's death ("provideres"). A short abstract of all the notions that each and every believer should keep in mind, is engraved as a schedule in the centre. This incentive to daily contemplation is entirely in keeping with new developments within the post-Tridentine Roman Catholic Church. Especially Jesuit authors published large numbers of (illustrated) books that were explicitly intended as spiritual guides for the faithful,

with extensive chronological (following the dates devoted to specific saints) or thematic schedules for daily prayers and meditation.[250] Galle's engraving is in fact nothing else than an abbreviated form of such popular publications.

Popes, canonizations and Holy Years; illustrating topical religious events at the turn of the century

Another group of engravings - reflecting a new trend in the print-shop of Philips Galle in the last decade of the sixteenth century - might be labelled as topical prints, that is to say works relating to more or less current religious events. Obvious examples are portraits of popes. Already in 1572 Philips Galle had issued a series of portraits of popes from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, ending with Pope Pius V (1565-72). In the following thirty years Galle also brought out the engraved features of four subsequent popes: Sixtus V (1585-90), Clemens VIII (1592-1605), Leo XI (1605) and Paul V (1605-21).[251] One would suppose that the lacking popes - Gregory XIII (1572-85) and the short reigning trio Urban VII (1590), Gregory XIV (1590-91) and Innocence XIV (1591) - were also engraved at some point and are perhaps stored anonymously in portrait collections. All of the four mentioned engravings lack the signatures of engravers and designers and only bear the address of the Philips Galle print-shop. There was evidently interest in portraits of newly elected popes, and for Philips Galle, who had a profound interest in the engraved portrait, it must have been self-evident to add such portraits to his existing series of 1572. It is interesting that at least in one of the bound copies of this earlier series, the four known additional portraits were simply added at the back.[252]

Another major religious event was the beatification or, even better still, canonization of exemplary Christians. Discussed above is already Maarten de Vos's altarpiece devoted to the Spanish friar Diego of Alcala, canonized in 1588. Slightly later Philips Galle published an engraved version of the painting, without doubt stimulated to do so by the Antwerp Franciscan community *(compare fig. 88)*.[253] On 17 April 1594 a member of another order was canonized, the Dominican monk Hyazinth Odrowaz - more commonly known as St. Hyacinth, a Polish follower of Saint Dominic in the early thirteenth century. Galle grasped this occasion to bring out an engraving devoted to the new saint *(fig. 117)*.[254] This anonymous engraving - no mention is made of engraver or designer - is highly stereotypical of such prints: in the centre one sees the saint kneeling in front of the Virgin with child, while in the borders small subsidiary scenes illustrate further particulars from the life of the Polish saint.

A Holy Year, which was then celebrated each quarter of a century, was another religious festivity that gave artists many opportunities for work. Engravers and print publishers were obviously stimulated by the large numbers of pilgrims flocking towards Rome, providing them with an eager market for (cheap) devotional engravings and printed memorabilia.[255] But even in their home markets - at least as long as they were residing in the Catholic parts of Europe - printmakers could expect a public with a more than average interest in religious subjects connected to this heyday of Catholic fervour. It is not surprising that Philips Galle did at least once try his luck at publishing a print directly connected to a Holy Year. Whether aimed at the Antwerp market or at the pilgrims in Rome is unsure, but in 1600 Galle issued a single engraving, made after a design by Antonio

Tempesta, of Pope Clemens VIII opening the door of the church of St. Peter with a golden hammer, a ritual that was the openings ceremony of each Holy Year *(fig. 118)*.[256] In the borders smaller cartouches illustrate the seven main churches of Rome, which are, besides St. Peter's: S. Croce in Gerusalemme, S. Giovanni in Laterano, S. Lorenzo fuori le Mura, S. Maria Maggiore, S. Paolo fuori le Mura and the S. Sebastiano. Underneath the central composition the verses give the reader a general account of the Holy Year. The shorter captions underneath each of the cartouches provide some relevant details on the churches, such as a particular festivity - a cardinal opening a door in imitation of the pope - or the most important relics found in these holy places. In short, Galle's engraving could either appeal to any one who wanted a souvenir of an actual visit to the Eternal City, but also to any Catholic who was interested in a pictorial 'résumé' of the festivities.

One wonders if a strongly related, but slightly earlier series was also brought out by Philips Galle in the light of the forthcoming Holy Year 1600. It here concerns the *Seven main churches of Rome*, consisting of an engraved title page and the seven engraved images of the very same churches as mentioned above *(figs. 119-120)*.[257] The print series must have been produced in or shortly before 1598, as it is dedicated to Willem van Bergen "announced [i.e. not yet consecrated] as bishop of Antwerp and [still] dean in Liège;" Van Bergen was consecrated in 1598. The composition of the title page is more or less the same as the above print of Clemens VIII at the portal of St. Peter's: around the central rectangle (here filled with the engraved title and dedication) one again sees smaller scenes with the seven churches, while in the lower part the personifications of the three theological virtues are illustrated *(fig. 119)*. As the title reminds us, the choice of the churches is determined by the importance of their indulgences and the number of visitors. The churches themselves are shown frontally, behind a more than life-size representation of the saint to whom the building is consecrated *(compare fig. 120)*. The engraved inscriptions in the margin inform the public on the indulgences that can be earned during certain festivals of the Church. The series could thus be of interest for anyone building up a collection of topographical views of Rome - a so-called 'atlas'[258] - to those who were interested in the churches of Rome from a devotional point of view, as well as to those who were planning a pilgrimage to the city during the Holy Year.

Philips Galle and the Order of Dominicans; Michael van Ophoven and the series *Life of St. Catherine of Siena*

Before paying attention to the two religious orders with which Galle had worked most closely, namely the Jesuits and the Franciscans, some words must be said on his collaboration with the Order of Preachers. Or, to be more precise, the contacts the printmaker had with one Antwerp friar in particular, namely the theologian Michael van Ophoven - later bishop of Den Bosch.[259] The latter's name appears on an undated and unsigned print Galle published circa 1600 *(fig. 121)*.[260] The subject in question is the *Genealogy of St. Dominic*, and shows the 'family tree' of St. Dominic. This is done on two levels. Starting with the saint's grandfather, who was a member of the noble Spanish family Guzman, the branches to the left go up to St. Dominic and from there to his spiritual successors: saints, monks and prelates belonging the order of their founder.[261] To the right the family tree shows the members of the Guzman family, concentrating on their relation by marriage to the Spanish royal family and thus ending with the Habsburg King Philip III and his half sister Isabella

Clara Eugenia, vicereine of the Southern Netherlands. Even without reading the extensive engraved lines in the lower margin, the dual implications of the engraving are quite obvious. On the one hand, the piety of the Habsburg rulers was enhanced by their ancestral lineage to St. Dominic. On the other hand, the Black Friars tried to augment their status in Brabant and Flanders by pointing out their long-standing relation with the ruling royal family. Especially in Antwerp they were in need of restoring their reputation, which had suffered severely from serious abuses.[262] Certainly in the light of their active rival orders - in Antwerp mainly the Minorites and the Jesuits - the Dominican Friars were in need of regaining popularity, both with the public at large as well as with the ecclesiastical and secular authorities. The Antwerp Dominicans, here represented by Michael van Ophoven, must have commissioned Philips Galle to engrave, print and publish the large, and thus expensive copperplate of the *Genealogy of St. Dominic.* This can be deduced from the fact that the dedication is not signed by Galle, as was usual, but by Van Ophoven who addressed himself to the vicar-general of his order in Brabant and Flanders, the Spanish friar and court preacher Inago de Brizuela.

Aiming at a much wider audience than the above engraving of St. Dominic, but no less intended as propaganda for the Order of Preachers, is the richly illustrated *Life, works and miracles of St. Catherine of Siena (figs. 122-124).*[263] Although the devotion of this fourteenth-century Sienese saint, who had entered the order of St. Dominic as tertiary, was largely limited to Italy, there was also a growing interest in Flanders during the Counter-Reformation. Her exemplary faith and piety and her attempts to return the Holy See from Avignon to Rome aroused devotional interest, as did her mystical stigmatization which made her a potential female equivalent of St. Francis.[264] In 1603, Philips Galle published his series of prints, consisting of engraved title page *(fig. 122)*, a portrait of the saint *(fig. 123)* and 32 numbered engravings by his son Cornelis, illustrating the life, works and miracles of the Italian saint *(compare fig. 124).* Underneath each image explanatory Latin verses were added, while at the back a typographically printed text part - depending on the edition, either in Dutch or in French - was added with an account of the life of St. Catherine. In this case, the series is dedicated, as the title page informs us, by the above Michael van Ophoven to his superior Andreas Heynsius, provincial of the Dominicans in the Low Countries. This again seems to indicate that the Antwerp Dominicans were actively involved in the production of the prints, which could certainly help them to propagate the merits of the order to a large audience.[265]

Although no designer is mentioned, Galle's series is not at all an original undertaking. In 1597 the Sienese publisher Matteo Florimi had published a set of twelve engravings of the same subject, engraved by Pieter de Jode after designs by Francesco Vanni.[266] Although Florimi's series consists of only 12 plates, it is, in fact, the prototype that Cornelis Galle copied meticulously. Each of de Jode's engravings, excluding the title page, renders three consecutive moments from the story of St. Catherine. Cornelis Galle copied all these combined compositions separately and engraved them on smaller copperplates.[267] One can, for example, take a look at the original De Jode version of *St. Catherine comforted by Christ (fig. 125)* - here flanked by two miracles performed by the saint - with Galle's copy in reverse of the central composition *(fig. 124).* The two illustrations of the miracles were engraved separately and included as numbers 13 and 14 in Galle's series, exactly the same numbers they had as in Florimi's original. Even the verses were largely copied after the Italian edition of 1597, with some slight changes and corrections probably supervised by Ophoven.

Cornelis Galle not only engraved the series, but most probably also provided his father and friar Van Ophoven with the idea to copy Florimi's publication. The younger Galle was in Italy for several years - at least until 1602 - and knew both Vanni and Florimi in person. He had engraved several engravings after Vanni's designs, some of which were published by Florimi, a small-scale publisher of prints and books in Siena. The series *Life, works and miracles of St. Catherine* was one of Florimi's largest and most prestigious publications, devoted to the most illustrious citizen in the history of the city.[268] The chances that Philips Galle or his son asked Florimi's consent for their pirate edition are rather slim. Even if Florimi knew of its existence, there was nothing he could do as his own privileges had no validity outside Tuscany. Moreover, Florimi was not at all threatened in his commercial interests. He was a small regional publisher who did not have the means and resources to gain access to a wider and international market, and certainly not the Low Countries. It is telling that, when in 1608 Philippe Thomassin produced yet another version of Vanni's designs for the *Life, works and miracles of St. Catherine*, this Rome printmaker copied Galle's pirate edition instead of Florimi's original engravings.[269] Perhaps Florimi may have found some comfort in the fact that it were in the end his prints that were used by the Antwerp Dominicans to spread the devotion of St. Catherine and thus could benefit the Counter-Reformation in Flanders.

Petrus Canisius and Johannes David; Jesuit publications by Philips Galle and the Plantin Press in the wake of Nadal's Evangelicae historiae imagines[270]

One of the striking aspects of the production of (illustrated) theological books in Antwerp after 1585, is its rapid 'Jesuitization'. Already in the last five years of Christophe Plantin's life (he died in 1589), the famous printer was forced by external circumstances to concentrate more and more on publishing devotional literature, spiritual guidebooks and other works serving the ideas and ideals of the Counter-Reformation.[271] This tendency was strengthened under the management of Plantin's successors at the *Officina Plantiniana*, when such Jesuit scholars as Thomas Sailly, Johannes David, Leonard Leys (better known as Lessius) and later in the seventeenth century Adriaen Poirters were amongst the most prominent and popular authors published.[272] It is conspicuous that many of the most prominent theologians, scholars and humanists in Flanders - perhaps even more so than elsewhere in Europe - felt attracted to the young and intellectually combative Order of the Jesuits.[273] It is thus quite appropriate that it was the Plantin Press which issued the first elaborate (and richly illustrated) history of the order in 1640, published in Latin and Dutch versions.[274]

Although it has been subject of discussion if and to what extent there was such a thing as Jesuit art or style, there can be no doubt at all that there was a specific, highly influential genre of engraved illustrations characteristic of moral and didactic works by Jesuit authors.[275] This tradition originated in Flanders in the last two decades of the sixteenth century. Besides the presence of an energetic, self-confident and quick-growing Order of the Jesuits - stimulated by both the secular and ecclesiastical authorities - this was also due to the solid reputation that Antwerp established after 1585 as the preeminent centre for the printing of unimpeachable Catholic works. This in turn was only made possible by the unique combination of the existence of the famous press of Plantin and his heirs, as well as the presence of several large print-shops (the Galle family, the Wierix brothers,

the Sadeler family, the De Jode workshop) that were capable of engraving and printing large numbers of engravings of a consistently high quality.

In addition to all the other weapons in its richly filled arsenal - catechisms, education of youth in general, the lay congregations devoted to the Virgin, the publication of devotional prints, the building and embellishing of churches - the Jesuits considered the (illustrated) book as one of the most important means by which the doctrines of the Roman Church could be disseminated. Or, as expressed by Adriaen Poirters, one of the most popular and prolific literary Jesuits in Antwerp in the middle of the seventeenth century: "The fruit that comes from books is all the more respectable as it is spread throughout the entire world and lasts longer than man himself, from whom it originates.'[276] With the help of illustrations, the abstractions of faith could be made clear and thereby evident to a larger group of faithful than only the relatively small circle of scholars, clerics and the most learned upper crust of the bourgeoisie. This didactic emphasis on the importance of religious illustrations was unambiguously stated in the final decrees of the Council of Trent, which had finished in 1563 and initiated the 'recatholicization' offensive - better known as the Counter-Reformation - of the Roman Catholic Church.[277] In Flanders, it was the Louvain theologian Jan Vermeulen (more commonly known as Johannes Molanus) who, in his treatise *De picturis et imaginibus sacris* (first published in 1570 and frequently reissued thereafter), wrote extensively on the instructive importance and the requisite edifying character of religious images.[278] More than any other religious order, the Jesuits recognized the innovative importance of edifying religious allegories and emblems.

One characteristic and well-documented (and consequently often repeated) example of the production of a richly illustrated Jesuit publication provides a view of the international collaboration that was often required for such a project. Furthermore, as it here concerns one of the earliest and most influential of such illustrated didactic handbooks, it also gives us insight into the means and methods used to clarify articles of faith and moral dogmas. The case in question is the richly illustrated and annotated *Evangelicae historiae imagines* - also known in other editions as *Adnotationes et meditationes in Evangelia* - conceived by the Spanish Jesuit Geronimo Nadal *(figs. 126-127)*. The history of this complex project is not only interesting due to the artistic quality of the engravings by the Wierix brothers, but above all because of the enormous influence that this type of image would have on later (biblical) illustrations. Seen in this light, and given the fact that Philips Galle was to a certain extent involved, a summary of the genesis of the work is certainly justifiable.[279]

After the Rome-based Jesuit theologian Geronimo Nadal had essentially completed his treatise at the end of 1575, the manuscript was quickly sent to the Southern Netherlands, where the Flemish members of his order looked into the possibilities of having the work and the accompanying drawings by Bernardo Passeri engraved, printed and published. The instable political situation, the increasing power of the Calvinists and the scant popularity of the Jesuits in Flanders, made it an impossible job. At this point the manuscript was sent back to Rome, where Nadal wrote and rewrote parts of the text. After the death of the author in 1580, his fellow countryman and order member Jacobo Jimenez devoted himself to the realization of the publication.

In 1585, directly after the fall of Antwerp, contact was made with Plantin, who was still in Leiden, but was preparing his return to Flanders. Unaware that the matter would plague him continuously for two long years to come, the printer took on the task of mediating in the search for a qualified printmaker who would engrave the 153 illustrations drawn by Passeri. In Leiden, Plantin's

son-in-law Frans van Ravelingen approached Hendrik Goltzius, while in Antwerp in the course of 1586 the cooperation of Philips Galle, Johannes Sadeler and the Wierix brothers was asked time and again. To no avail. Despite Jimenez' repeated pressure, Plantin was not able to reach any agreement with the various engravers, each of whom, for entirely different reasons, declined the commission. Galle refused under the pretext of his age and his obligation to teach his sons the art of engraving. In one of his letters Plantin had, however, more accurately written that Philips Galle would not take on a job over which he did not have full control.[280]

Because of the fruitlessness of his efforts Plantin, in January 1587, at long last asked to be released from his task. Despite the objections the Antwerp printer himself had to the three Wierix brothers - who apparently were unreliable collaborators due to their alcoholism and lechery - the Jesuits in Rome ultimately reached an agreement with this print-shop. The subsequent execution of the project - for which the text was, in the meantime, composed and printed in Rome - was then concluded in Antwerp. The actual pictorial Bible - that is to say the engravings without the accompanying typographically printed text - appeared in 1593 as the *Evangelicae historiae imagines*, overseen and paid for by the Antwerp Jesuits *(fig. 126)*. One year later in the same city the printer Martin Nuyts (also known as Martinus Nutius) published the text and the plates together under the title *Adnotationes et meditationes in Evangelia*.[281] The pains taken to have the plates engraved and published in Antwerp at all costs, underscore the reputation the city held as the leading centre of reproductive engraving in Europe.

It is without doubt ironic, as Max Rooses already pointed out in the previous century, that in December 1605 the plates of Nadal's pictorial Bible were bought jointly by Jan Moretus II and his brother-in-law Theodoor Galle: the first being the grandson of the printer who was much relieved when he was no longer obligated to work on the project, the other being the son of the engraver who had continually refused to have anything to do with the publication. On the other hand, the Jesuits parted, presumably without many objections, with the plates - the sale was authorized by their superior Carolus Scribani - and the accompanying obligation of having to prepare new editions of a work that had been created with such difficulty. Thereafter, Moretus had the *Adnotationes* printed at the *Officina Plantiniana* in 1607, while in 1647 Theodoor Galle's son Johannes saw to the republication of the *Evangelicae historiae imagines*, the plates for which had now become extremely worn. But even this, for that matter, would not be the last printing. Until late in the nineteenth century - when the copperplates had, in the meantime, entered the collection of its current owner, namely the Trappist cloister of Westmalle - the Wierix brothers' engravings were printed time and again.[282]

The engravings by Hieronymus, Anthonie and Johannes Wierix were repeatedly copied and imitated as a type, although the quality of the numerous followers hardly ever equals the refined and elaborate engraving of the original illustrations. In terms of composition and didactic design, the images are unquestionably prototypic of the many pictorial Bibles and illustrated moralizing handbooks that appeared in the Netherlands as of the late sixteenth century. One characteristic example from the *Evangelicae historiae imagines* may, before returning once more to the production of Philips Galle, clarify this type of image.

One of the last engravings of the book - in which the life and Passion of Christ is rendered in detail - concerns the last moment when the resurrected Christ appears on earth before his followers *(fig. 127)*. In a merging of two passages from the Gospels, Christ's encouragement of his disciples to preach the Gospel and recount the miraculous acts that they would perform as signs of God (Mark 16:14-18) is depicted, while, in a symbolic representation of the Eucharist, he simultaneously breaks bread and blesses his dumbfounded companions (Luke 24:28-32). In addition, the miracles to which Christ refers are portrayed in a subtle, realistic manner within the space where the group is seated, namely as embroidered (or perhaps painted) tondi hanging on cords against the back wall. An image of the immediately following Bible verses - the Ascension of Christ - is included in the background on the left, again exemplifying the popularity of combining narrative moments in sixteenth-century printmaking. In order to avoid any uncertainty on part of the viewer, the image is elucidated by a title in capitals along the upper edge, supplemented with references to the verses in question. In addition, along the bottom of the illustration there are also extensive (engraved) texts in relatively simple Latin, offering a more precise explanation of the details represented in the image. The explicit instructive intention is underscored further by the letters that precede the captions in the lower margin and that refer to corresponding letters incised into the image at several relevant places, a means of reference that was to become very common to seventeenth-century printmaking. Finally, perhaps superfluous, one can also be reminded of the fact that in addition to the images one could also read the elaborate main, typographically printed text. In short, all means were used to have the edifying message of the work penetrate those who were to take Geronimo Nadal's *Evangelicae historiae* imagines in their hands.

The same didactic emphasis is found in another popular and influential illustrated work by a Jesuit author, the publication of which was a joint venture of Philips Galle and Jan Moretus. It here concerns the *Veridicus Christianus* by the Courtrai scholar Johannes David, first published in 1601 *(figs. 128-131)*. Embellished with no less than 103 engravings - a title page, 100 numbered prints and two additional engravings without a number - this work was intended as an ethical guidebook for the faithful. From the very beginning David explicitly wanted to add a substantial number of images to his text. As the author informs us in the introduction to the first (Latin) edition of the *Veridicus Christianus*, he had originally written his text in Dutch. However, so David continues, his publisher Jan Moretus would not comply with David's (expensive) demand for such a large number of illustrations if he would not also prepare a Latin translation of his own manuscript. In just three months the Jesuit theologian completed his enlarged and revised translation. This Latin *editio princeps* was published, including the engravings from the Galle workshop, in 1601 *(fig. 128)*. Slightly later, dated 1602/03, the Plantin Press brought out the original Dutch text, entitled *Christeliicke waerseggher* and issued with the very same illustrations. An indication of the popularity of the work is that fact that Jan Moretus issued an unaltered reprint of the Latin version in 1606.[283]

By whom the designs for the prints were made is entirely unclear. The subjects and their iconographic specifications were most probably provided for by Johannes David himself. The artistically not very appealing designs do not show any distinguishing features and could have been produced by any Antwerp master around 1600. As so often, the Plantin Press put out the job of incising and printing the copperplates. What is unusual, however, is that in this case the plates did not come into the possession of the publishing house. Even at the end of his career as a print

publisher, Philips Galle kept up to his reputation as an entirely independent printmaker and remained the owner of the copperplates. In the same year that Moretus published the first Latin version of David's *Veridicus Christianus*, Philips Galle published the same engravings *without* the letterpress text. Quite appropriately, Galle's edition was entitled *Icones ad veridicum Christianum* - "The images to the *Veridicus Christianus*" - and had his address "Philippus Gallaeus excudebat" proudly engraved on the title page *(fig. 129)*.[284]

That a moralizing religious guidebook could make good use of the emblematic and didactic type of illustrations as used in Nadal's pictorial Bible is to be expected. The structure of each image in David's book is generally the same, as a few examples will demonstrate. The engraving of the *Four last things (fig. 130)*, for instance, renders this above discussed subject by means of a composition that is reminiscent of Goltzius's engraving *Allegory on the necessity of prudence* of 1578 *(compare fig. 61)*.[285] Here every Christian (symbolized by the man in de mid-foreground) is urged to consider at all times that after his death and the resurrection of his body the final judgement will be made of his manner of living. Yet again an elucidating title - as if it were a motto to an emblem - is engraved above the image, while the reference to the relevant Bible verses is now present in a banderole near the man in the middle of the print. Spread across the image, the letters A to F catch the eye, corresponding, as one would expect, with the more elaborate typographically printed text on the opposite page. In the lower margin of the print a brief explanation is engraved in three languages: Latin, Dutch and French. Consequently, by using these three languages the reach of such a publication - even for someone browsing through the Latin language edition - was increased in principle to all those in the Southern Netherlands who were capable of reading. There can be no question at all that this was precisely the goal of such authors as Johannes David.[286]

While an engraving such as the *Four last things* more or less follows an existing iconographic tradition, several other images in the *Veridicus Christianus* are far less traditional in their imagery. This is especially the case when an abstract Christian doctrine is 'translated' into an allegorical composition. An intriguing example in this respect is *Christ as example to the world (fig. 131)*.[287] Standing on the top of a hill - of course a reference to Mount Golgotha - Christ, bearing his cross, stands as a model for ten painters. Sitting behind their easels, each of these painters tries to capture the essence of their divine inspiration. While six depict passages from Christ's life (such as the adoration of the Magi and the Ascension), only one artist, conspicuously sitting in the foreground, truly understands the quintessence of the saviour's suffering and copies him bearing the cross: "And he that taketh not his cross, and followeth after me, is not worthy of me" (Matthew 10:38). The mind of three artists, however, is obviously filled with other, less Christian thoughts, as the respective subjects of their paintings reveal: the devil, a young woman, and a man with moneybag. The caption in the upper margin summarizes the author's intention: "Looking unto Jesus the author and finisher of our faith" (Hebrew 12:2).

Less elaborate in its didactic means, but certainly not less emphatic in the message it wants to convey is yet another illustrated Jesuit publication co-produced by Philips Galle and the Plantin Press: Petrus Canisius's *Institutiones Christianae*, issued in 1589 *(figs. 132-134)*.[288] Although traditionally listed as a work of the famous Dutch saint, Canisius, in fact, most probably had nothing to do with its realization. The richly illustrated book - including no less than 103 etchings by Pieter van der Borcht - was intended as an album of prints to accompany Canisius's well-known and very pop-

ular catechism, the *Parvus catechismus Catholicorum* also published in several editions by Plantin. The *Institutiones Christianae* was based on an earlier (illustrated) work by Giovanni Battista Romano, a Jesuit scholar of Egyptian origin, living and teaching in Rome.[289]

Due to the incredibly complete archives of the *Officina Plantiniana*, one can reconstruct the financial terms on which Christophe Plantin and Philips Galle jointly produced an illustrated album such as the *Institutiones Christianae*. As Leon Voet has described, the two printers decided to print 850 copies. Each of the partners was to receive 425 copies. The costs were strictly divided and were to be added as credit for each of the partners. It is interesting to note that, even though Philips Galle reworked the etchings with the burin and printed no less than 11.000 impressions of all the plates in his workshop, it was Christophe Plantin who apparently commissioned and paid Pieter van der Borcht to make the etchings. This is not so strange as it might sound. Galle was rarely involved in the production of etchings, an essentially different technique from copper-engraving. Furthermore, Van der Borcht was a friend of Plantin and of old his supplier of etched book illustrations.[290]

The function and iconography of the illustrations differs from the two afore-mentioned series by Nadal and David. Their aim is not as much to instruct the viewer on abstract articles of faith in an allegorical manner, but rather to provide the reader of the *Institutiones Christianae* with clear and unambiguous renderings of the Christian doctrine by means of examples taken from the Bible. In the part of the book where the reader is informed on the seven sacraments, one finds, for example, an etching of the sacrament of matrimony *(fig. 133)*. While in the foreground a 'contemporary' wedding ceremony is to be seen, the background shows how God brings Adam and Eve together as the very first couple in (Biblical) history (Genesis 2:22-24). Or - to give one other example of this continuous reference to the Bible - when Van der Borcht etched the seven works of mercy, the lodging of strangers is represented by the story of Abraham receiving three strangers in his tent in the pains of Mamre (Genesis 18:1-15, *fig. 134)*.

Apart from the *Institutiones Christianae* and the *Veridicus Christianus*, Galle published one other major series which is connected to the Order of Jesuits. At some time after 1593 (probably around 1600), the Antwerp printmaker issued a series of portraits of martyrs and leading members of the Order, entitled *Societatis Iesu praepositorum generalium imagines*. This series, discussed more in detail in chapter 2, seems to be one of the very first attempts by the Jesuits in the Southern Netherlands to establish an iconographic tradition of the Order and its founders.[291] Although nothing is known of the genesis of Galle's portrait series, it seems very likely that the Jesuits themselves were concerned with the conception and production of the series. It is, in fact, highly improbable that the active and self-assured Jesuit Order in Antwerp - highly favoured by ecclesiastical and secular authorities - would let a printmaker produce such a vital series without their permission and potential interference at all.

In this respect, the question must be raised as to what extent Philips Galle himself was involved in determining the subject and iconographic details of the illustrations in the above Jesuit publications. Jesuit authors such as Johannes David had a clear-cut opinion on the importance and role of illustrations and probably largely determined the iconographic compositions of images in such books as the *Veridicus Christianus* themselves. In the case of the *Institutiones Christianae*, where no author seems to have been directly involved, it is known as a fact that it was Plantin (and not Galle) who commissioned the prints. The printmaker was only involved in the technical aspects of

these publications: engraving and printing the copperplates and taking (a part of) the financial risks. Like Plantin and Moretus - with whom he collaborated in the production of the two richly illustrated and thus expensive books - Galle clearly reacted to the potential market for such illustrated moralizing guidebooks. But, in contrast to many of his earlier print series, there are no indications at all that Galle himself was personally involved in the conception of this innovative type of engraving.

Finally, Philips Galle also published devotional prints that in itself were not Jesuit by nature, but in subject were affiliated with devotions strongly propagated by the Order. One of these is the as yet unrecorded series *Angeli custodis ministeria* (The tasks of the guardian angels), engraved around 1600 by Cornelis Galle.[292] Elucidated with short Latin verses by the Antwerp humanist Laurens Beyerlinck, these four plates show how guardian angels consecutively teach and enlighten mankind *(fig. 135)*, lead him to what is right, relieve man from his suffering and in the end show him the way to eternal bliss. The role of guardian angels - although dating from early Christian times - was strongly emphasized by Jesuit authors, stimulating the faithful to pray to the angels for daily assistance in one's religious life.[293] As such, the *Angeli custodis ministeria* is not a Jesuit series, but certainly reflects the new devotions that prospered in Flanders due to the indefatigable activities of the order.

Philips Galle and Hendrik Sedulius; Franciscan iconography

Comparing the iconography of the Franciscans with that of the Jesuits - around 1600 by far the most active orders propagating the role of the visual arts - there is quintessential difference that immediately leaps to the eye. Whereas the Jesuits were first and foremost concerned with the general notion of using the (engraved) image as one of the essential weapons in spreading the post-Tridentine doctrines of the Catholic Church, the Franciscan Order was more interested in spreading the popularity of the iconography of its founder. Saint Francis was by many considered to be one of the most appropriate saints to exemplify the true Christian, whose life and virtues are modelled after Christ, up to and including the receiving of the stigmata. It is striking to see, as recent research has pointed out, the enormous increase of paintings, drawings and prints of the Italian saint in Flemish art after 1585.[294] As is to be expected this development also left its traces in the output of the Galle workshop, which produced two major print series and many single engravings focusing on the life and works of St. Francis.

The single engravings of the thirteenth-century saint are generally devotional in character and render a traditional Franciscan motive, often taken from Italian prototypes. Adriaen Collaert, for instance, engraved a (Stradanus?) composition of Saint Francis praying in ecstasy before a crucifix in a landscape *(fig. 136)*.[295] Around the turn of the century, Galle's eldest son Theodoor - probably using a contemporary Italian print as a model - reproduced a painting of St. Francis receiving the stigmata by Cavaliere d'Arpino in copper *(fig. 137)*.[296] Also around 1600, Philips Galle's other son Cornelis, who was then still living and working in Italy, was asked by Francesco Vanni to produce an engraving after his altarpiece the *Vision of St. Francis*. This first (Italian) version of the print was issued by the small-scale Sienese publisher Matteo Florimi . Apparently Philips Galle considered this print quite apt for the public in Northern Europe, as he let his son engrave a second,

reversed version of the same composition which he published himself.[297] This pirate edition illustrates that there must have been an eager market for such devotional Franciscan subjects. It yet again shows - as it was a kind of plagiarism that Galle regularly committed in the case of Italian prints - that publishers had little respect for 'copyright' in its modern denotation and let commercial motives prevail.[298]

Quite different from these individual prints is the *Life of St. Francis*, a series of engravings (and etchings) published by Philips Galle in two versions, the first before 1580 and the second, revised edition in 1587 *(figs. 138-140)*. The genesis of this highly influential series - probably the very first of its kind to appear in the Low Countries - is a complete mystery, despite recent attempts to untangle the problem.[299] Next to nothing is known of the earliest edition of Galle's *Life of St. Francis*, of which only a few copies exist. This first series consists of 16 numbered engravings: undated, unsigned, without a title page and without the address of a publisher. As the series is mentioned in an Antwerp manuscript dated 1580, there is at least a date *ante quem*.[300] The year of publication is probably even earlier, as the Franciscan community in Antwerp had a bitter conflict with the Calvinist city council in 1578, resulting in their exile from the city in the following year.

To complicate matters even more, there is one (as yet) unique copy of the early, pre-1580 edition which has added two sheets of type set text, undated but with the address of a typographic printer: "Antverpiae, excudebat Vidua Gerardi Fabri."[301] The two sheets are both printed on the recto and verso: a title page, a dedication, and two pages of type set explanatory Latin verses. These four pages were obviously meant to accompany Galle's engravings. It is entirely unclear if the widow of Gerard Fabri, about whom nothing at all is known, or Philips Galle was in fact financially responsible for the publication. Given the rarity of the series and even more of the accompanying typographically printed pages, it seems that the production was stopped prematurely. This could have been caused either by the precarious situation of the minorites in Antwerp or by the fact that there were many obvious iconographic mistakes in the series, which badly needed correction.[302]

One also wonders if the Antwerp Franciscans themselves were from the very beginning involved in the production of this large, and thus expensive series of prints.[303] This is surely the case with the second, revised and enlarged edition of 1587. This new edition consists of an engraved title page, a dedication set in letterpress and 18 numbered prints. Of the 16 plates of the first edition 14 were reused, while four images (including two etchings), a title page and a dedication were now added.[304] The address of the Galle workshop is now clearly engraved on the title page: "Philippus Gall[a]eus excudit." As the elaborate Latin dedication informs us, Hendrik Sedulius - the newly appointed guardian of the Franciscan friars in Antwerp, writing from his convent cell in August of 1587 - was now involved in the conception of the revised edition of the *Life of St. Francis*. The production of the first edition was, so Sedulius mentions, patronized by a benefactor of the Franciscan Order who wanted to stay anonymous.[305] The draughtsman of the composition is also unknown. The seven preparatory drawings that have been preserved are stylistically related to Maarten de Vos, even though they certainly cannot be attributed to the master himself.[306]

Despite all the differences between the two editions - corrections of historical data and iconographic errors, more logical sequence of the prints, more elaborate explanations in the margin - the main purport of the series stayed the same. Set in a handsome ornamental borders, the engravings first of all render the life, works and miracles of the Italian saint as described in various

historical sources *(figs. 139-140)*. No less important, however, is the explicit intention of presenting St. Francis as the alter Christus, the most perfect follower of Christ and thus one of the most noteworthy examples for every Christian. This is exemplified by the title page *(fig. 138)*.[307] Here St. Francis is shown on three levels. First of all he is shown as the new, and of course 'better' Adam, fulfilling Gods words to the first man (and woman): "..... and have dominion over the fish of the sea and over the fowl of the air and over every living thing that moveth upon the world" (Genesis 1:28, quoted in the border around the oval). On a higher, and theologically much more disputed level, Francis of Assisi is also shown as the angel of the sixth seal of the Apocalypse, heralding the spiritual world of God: "And I saw another angel ascending from the east, having the seal of the living God ....." (Revelation 7:2, quoted in the lower cartouche). Finally, he is shown as the second Christ, holding a crucifix in ecstasy and displaying the divine wounds of the stigmatization. Following the saviour's example, St. Francis's contempt for worldly power and human learning is also emphasized by means of trampling a globe and books. The exemplary virtues of the saint are symbolized by four female personifications in the corners: temperance, humility, obedience and poverty. Or, as the full title summarizes the intention of the series: "The admirable history of the divine and seraphic Francis, the example of the complete evangelical perfection."[308]

Like other orders - see, for example, Galle's portraits of Jesuit martyrs - the Franciscans traditionally also felt the need to familiarize the faithful with other saints and martyrs besides their founding father.[309] Once again in collaboration with Hendrik Sedulius - who in the meantime had left Antwerp to hold other positions within the Order of the Friars Minors in Flanders - Philips Galle published another Franciscan subject in 1602, namely *Imagines sanctorum Francisci (figs. 141-142)*. This booklet, new of its kind in the Low Countries, contains a title page and 13 numbered images of Franciscan saints and martyrs. Opposite each engraving - with short engraved inscriptions in the lower margin - a more elaborate explanatory text by Sedulius is printed in letterpress.[310] Besides St. Francis himself, all the traditional saints from the order are included, such as Anthony of Padua, Bonaventura, Bernardino of Siena and the female saints Clare of Assisi and Elizabeth of Hungary. The only unusual feature is the fact that St. Yves of Brittany - a theologian, but certainly never a Franciscan monk - is included *(fig. 142)*. Although best known as the patron of the lawyers, Sedulius here added the French saint on account of his lifelong concern with the fate of the poor - a concern which he shares with St. Francis and his followers.[311]

As in the case of the Jesuits, the question must be asked to what extent Philips Galle was involved in developing the subjects of his 'Franciscan' prints. Regarding the single prints Galle certainly acted of his own accord, complying with an apparently quickly rising demand for images of the popular Italian saint at the end of the century. Mainly using Italian examples, by such artists as Stradanus and Vanni, Galle issued several devotional prints of St Francis. These prints follow existing iconographic traditions and have one or two lines of simple Latin inscriptions in the margins. More complicated or innovative subjects *(St. Diego of Alcala*, the series *Life of St Francis* and the *Imagines sanctorum Francisci)* were, however, all produced in close collaboration with the guardian of the Antwerp Franciscans, namely Hendrik Sedulius. If Galle or Sedulius took the initiative to produce such engravings, can unfortunately no longer be reconstructed. One can assume, however, that the Franciscan friar - who was known to be an ardent preacher and an active protagonist of his order - recognized the enormous potential of multiplying images and incited Philips Galle to issue engravings related to the Franciscan order and its ideals.

The *Prosopographia*; an Antwerp precursor of Ripa's *Iconologia*

Around 1590 Philips Galle designed, engraved and published an unusual, but highly interesting booklet entitled *Prosopographia*, a series of 43 personifications, mainly of virtues, vices and other human qualities and of general abstractions *(figs. 143-150)*.[312] Although the series as such is not purely religious by nature, it contains so many personifications directly related to faith that a brief discussion of its contents in this chapter is certainly warranted. Furthermore, the quotation in the title of this chapter - attaining to the growing taste for Christian subjects - is cited from Galle's afterword to the series, yet another reason for examining the *Prosopographia* in this chapter devoted to the production of religious prints.[313]

In his afterword Galle makes clear why he decided to publish this series of personifications: "Philips Galle to the reader, greetings. Here you have, dear reader, the images of Patience, Penance, Experience, Humility, Piety and other similar virtues, but also the illustrations of vices and other subjects that you will see ornated and embellished with their symbols and with their particular appearances. It is indispensable for all painters, engravers, woodcarvers, goldsmiths, sculptors and even versemongers and rhetoricians to consult this book, that will provide them with the means to be able to reproduce all kinds of images. In short, when they have in mind to try to paint they will no longer have the need to always turn to those who are most proficient and experienced in the arts. I have deemed it wise and useful not to expand this book and make it bulge with a large number of figures, but to include only the most unusual and rare [personifications]. At this occasion I have left out the seven liberal arts, the cardinal virtues, the mortal sins and subjects of the same kind that are supplied abundantly by the (print)shops. I will not devote any words on the manner of painting of the antique, as this is at present regarded as obscure and characteristic of the pagans. Furthermore, our own [manner of painting] is more clear and the Christian inventions are more in vogue and held in higher esteem. If I observe that our book manages to be agreeable to you, I will, with the help of God, henceforth be urged to dare make and produce other works on the same subject matter."[314]

The printmaker's primary objective is clear, he wants to provide less experienced artists, artisans and even (amateur)poets with an iconographic thesaurus of more unusual and sophisticated personifications.[315] According to his own words Galle has left out the more obvious and common subjects, which he himself had published in large numbers. Considering the table of contents this statement holds true, with the single exception of the four last prints: the four continents (Europe, Asia, Africa and America). Not only was this subject fairly common at the time, it is also far less abstract than the 39 preceding images. Of these personifications twelve are explicitly religious of nature, either as they represent notions directly related to religion or, in the case of more general qualities, because the attributes and the verses undeniably relate the figure in question to Christian faith.

An interesting representative of the first category is Piety *(fig. 145)*. The verses in the margin explain the attributes of the woman, clothed like a nun: "While for those living earlier [i.e. those who lived before Christ] my attributes were the altar and the stork, so I now have the Holy Bible and the rosary."[316] By means of these verses - originally written in Latin by Cornelis Kiliaan, but

here translated from the French versions (by Galle?) - the reader is referred to the dual interpretation of the Latin word "Pietas." In classical Latin this implied, amongst other things, respect and love from children for parents and vice versa. The burning altar (referring to the burnt offerings in classical antiquity) and the stork (a symbol of parental love), cunningly point out these notions. Although very positive in itself, the viewer is obviously to note that this pre-Christian meaning of 'pietas' is superseded by its Christian (or more precisely Catholic) connotation of devoutness, of which the Bible and the rosary clearly attest.

Less subtle and more straightforward in their iconographic details are, for example, *Distrust in God (fig. 146)* - a woman fleeing from the light of God with moneybags in her hands - and *Ecclesia (The Church, fig. 147)*.[317] The latter is one of the very few engravings that do not render human qualities or general abstractions. It hardly seems necessary to mention the fact that the church is here represented as the Catholic Church, adorned with such traditional symbols as the keys, a chalice and the crosier.[318] Galle may have added this odd one out to once again emphasize the role of the Church as the sole authority in establishing the moral standards on earth, indirectly making a stand against the Reformed Churches.

Power (fig. 148) and *Truth (fig. 149)* are examples of the second category of religious personifications, that is to say those that refer to religion more implicitly. Galle represents (worldly) *Power* as a woman holding up a sword into heaven in her right hand, while holding a rod in her left. While the sword in heaven refers to the divine legitimization of the power of secular authorities, the rod - a traditional symbol of power of government - illustrates the need to punish whenever necessary. The verses summarize the meaning, referring to words of the apostle Paul: "All power, as St. Paul mentions, comes from Heaven; and for this reason I never carry the sword and the rod of justice in vain."[319] As the personification of Truth is only one of the two nude figures - in contrast to the large numbers of nude personifications in his early allegorical print series - Galle clearly heeded the words of authors as Molanus who explicitly warned against provocative and indecent paintings of nudes.[320] In his verses Kiliaan even felt the need to explain why the woman is unclothed, also emphasizing that truth can only be based on guidance by God: "I am completely nude: without any frills, bright and shining like the sun, governed and led by the Holy Spirit."[321]

The remaining personifications do not refer, neither in the verses nor in the choice of attributes, to religion at all. Most, like *Labour* and *Diligence*, are profane of nature, although these are virtues that most theological authors would certainly have approved of. Some others, like *Eternity (fig. 150)* for instance, are profoundly religious in character even when there is no reference to faith at all.[322] Certainly every (educated) contemporary viewer would be reminded of the Christian interpretation of divine eternity and life after death, even when the verses merely speak of: "The two faces and the circle that I carry, show you that I have knowledge both of the past, as well as the future."[323] One would, however, here have expected some kind of reminder of the Last Judgement and the eternity of Heaven.

All in all, the *Prosopographia* is a rather haphazard collection of personifications without, at least seemingly so, any underlying principles, either religious or profane. Philips Galle gave the reader what he had promised: a set of rather uncommon personifications that could be used by artists and artisans as an iconographic thesaurus. Religion did not determine the choice of figures, but it is dominantly present in the series. In combination with the printmaker's observation that "Christian

inventions are more in vogue," this again emphasizes to what extent religion pervaded allegorical subjects in sixteenth-century art.

One wonders why and when Philips Galle decided to publish the *Prosopographia*. In general, as has been described above, the subjects of his publications after 1585 are much less allegorical in character than his earlier works. The series must, however, have been issued after 1585. In the first place because of the Counter-Reformatorian tenor of several verses and the choice of attributes of the personifications discussed above. More conclusive, however, is the dedication of the series to Marie de Meleun, Countess of Ligne. She inherited all the titles mentioned in the dedication in 1585. In turn, her husband inherited one of her titles in January 1601, thus providing us with the date *ante quem*.[324] Moreover, style and technique also indicate that the series probably originated not much later than 1590: together with his drawing book of 1589, the *Prosopographia* seems to be one of the last signed works Philips Galle engraved himself. As in the case of his *Instruction et fondements de bien pourtraire*, Galle - who was clearly scaling down his activities as an engraver - may have incised this innovative and slightly ambitious book of personifications himself in order to demonstrate his abilities as a *sculptor doctus*, a learned publisher and printmaker whose work was an example to less experienced artists.[325] Although less theoretical in its aim and certainly far less systematical in the choice and number of personifications included, the *Prosopographia* is in many respects comparable to its famous Italian equivalent, Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia*. First published in 1593, the first two editions (the second appeared in 1602) of this latter book were not illustrated. It was only from the third edition (Milan 1603) onwards that (woodcut) illustrations were added.[326] If Galle's engravings, which were already used as models for artisans in Britain around 1600, perhaps had any influence on the Italian publications is a problem which warrants further research. Certainly the many similarities in choice of attributes can also be explained by Ripa's and Galle's use of the same sources, such as emblem books by Alciati, Junius and Reusner or one of the very few iconographic source books that were available, such as Vincenzo Cartari's *Le imagini de i dei de gli antichi* and Giampietro Valeriano's *Hieroglyphica*.[327] It is, however, striking that - as in the case of his portraits of scholars, his drawing book, his booklet on ways of wearing hair and beard and so many other works - the *Prosopographia* once again shows Galle to be one of the prime initiators of a new genre of prints.

One could, hypothetically though, also point out a specific occasion that might have inspired Galle to bring out his *Prosopographia*. On 14 June 1594 a triumphant entry took place in Antwerp on behalf of Ernest of Austria, a descendant of the Habsburg family who was appointed as viceroy of the Southern Netherlands in 1592, a position he held until his death in 1595. This magnificent entrance - full of splendour to show that under the reign of the Spaniards Antwerp was yet again a prosperous and art-loving city - included richly ornated triumphal arches, painted decorations, stages with tableaux vivants and so on. Two leading Antwerp painters, Maarten de Vos and Ambrosius Francken, were in charge of all the designs which were to be made.[328] It is known from the archival records of the city that, as models for the costumes and attributes of the many figurants taking part in the tableaux vivants, good use was made of 'printed figures' ("gedrukte beelden") delivered by Volcxken Diericx of *Aux quatre vents* and Philips Galle.[329] Thus, it seems obvious to assume that the personifications of the *Prosopographia* were amongst those prints used to adorn Archduke Ernest's entry in Antwerp. Certainly, the images were very appropriate for such a purpose.[330] If true, one would expect that the religious images of the series were especially suitable in helping the secular

and ecclesiastical authorities to show their new Habsburg ruler the newly gained dominant position of the Catholic Church in Counter-Reformatorian Antwerp.

Conclusion

It is quite clear that between 1560 and 1600 the nature of the religious engravings produced by Philips Galle changed considerably. Having learned the trade in the workshop of Hieronymus Cock - where he mainly engraved Biblical subjects after Bruegel, Floris and Heemskerck - he started to engrave and publish a very distinct genre of religious works in Haarlem from 1563 onwards. In close collaboration with Maarten van Heemskerck, the draughtsman of most of the prints, and the scholarly humanist Hadrianus Junius, who was the author of the verses in the margin, Galle published a considerable number of intricate moralizing allegories that intended to instruct the viewer on the importance of Christian ethics in daily life. When subjects from the Bible were chosen, they were nearly always taken from the Old Testament and tended to concentrate on ethical matters as well.

Although these subjects continued to be produced after Philips Galle left Haarlem in 1570, his Antwerp production became more and more dominated by new collaborators, slowly modifying the nature of the publications. Between 1570 and 1575, it was especially the collaboration with the Spanish theologian Benito Arias Montano and the engraver/draughtsman Gerard Groenning which became important. In a number of large allegorical print series, Galle and Arias Montano strongly emphasized the life and passion of Jesus Christ as the essential moral and spiritual guideline for each Christian. This tendency - partly initiated by the spiritualist circle of friends around Christophe Plantin and partly by Galle's long acquaintance with Dirck Volckertsz. Coornhert - continued after 1575, when Philips Galle teamed up with the young Hendrick Goltzius in his former home town Haarlem. In 1582, when Goltzius set up his own workshop, a more or less definite end came to the production of moral allegories that can be characterized as 'Christian humanist' of nature.

Instead of such allegories Philips Galle issued both more straightforward Biblical narratives rendering subjects from the Old and New Testament, as well as - especially after the fall of Antwerp in 1585 - devotional subjects, focusing on Christ, the Virgin and the life of saints. After 1575 this was mainly done after designs by the Antwerp painter Maarten de Vos and the Flemish Florentine Johannes Stradanus. In turn, these two ageing masters were slowly replaced by anonymous draughtsmen after 1590, producing a large number of rather stereotypical devotional images.

Besides the growing numbers of such anonymous devotional prints, two new trends came to the fore in the last decade of the sixteenth century. In the first place, topical prints were made to commemorate such remarkable religious events as the election of new popes, canonizations and Holy Years. Furthermore, Galle regularly collaborated with religious orders in the production of both loose prints as well as print series and illustrated books. In the case of the Dominicans and the Franciscans, this led to images glorifying the founders of the orders and those saints that attracted attention from the public. The Jesuits were more interested in creating a new type of book illustration, a didactic and emblematic image that, in combination with the engraved inscriptions and the type set text of the book, was to instruct the reader in the articles of faith of the Catholic Church.

It is rather obvious that the changing character of the religious works produced by Philips Galle was influenced by the major changes in Antwerp through the years. In the years of Calvinist rule in Antwerp, that is to say the period between 1577 and 1585, the publisher seems to have deliberately refrained from bringing prints on the market with any, from a religious point of view, outspoken subject matter that could incur problems with the authorities. Instead, Galle concentrated on non-religious prints and on 'trouble-free' Biblical subjects illustrating both the Old and the New Testament. After 1585, the Counter-Reformation was soon well on its way and dominated all aspects of Antwerp society to a stronger degree than it did elsewhere in the (Southern) Netherlands. It were not as much any prohibitions by the authorities, as well as a radical change in the demand of the public for books and prints, that probably determined the changing subject matter in the Galle workshop. Religious images were actively used by the Roman Church to underscore its dogmas and to help regain its primordial position in the Netherlands. As prints could be readily multiplied, they were especially useful in this respect. On the other hand, the relatively low costs of engravings made them easily accessible to a large number of people desiring to have illustrations of the basic principles of faith and of popular devotional subjects at hand.

It is difficult to assess to what extent Galle's personal opinions on religion were of influence on the subjects of the prints he engraved and published. It is a fact, however, that the engravings made in collaboration with Junius and Heemskerck in Haarlem and with Arias Montano and later Goltzius in Antwerp, run remarkably parallel with what is known of his religious convictions. Next to nothing is known for certain about Galle's opinions on religion after 1580. If the printmaker - who, as far as can ascertained, always stayed within the Roman Catholic Church - himself sympathized with the Counter-Reformation remains to be seen. There were, for example, malicious rumours on the orthodoxy of the Galle and Moretus families as late as 1598.[331] On the other hand, in this period Galle associated with such scholarly theologians as Aubert Le Mire, Hendrik Sedulius, Bishop Laevinus Torrentius and several members of the Van Winghe family, whose orthodoxy can not be doubted. It might thus well be possible that Philips Galle, as so many other moderate humanists, was disappointed in his ideals of religious tolerance and a general Christian doctrine, and as a consequence slowly reverted to the opinions of the Catholic Church.

What Philips Galle certainly did not loose was his personal preference for intricate and innovative iconography. Even when the largest part of his production was focused on devotional subjects, Galle found time and means to publish a few major print series such as the *Encomium musices* and *Prosopographia* that show off his erudition, his interest in unusual subjects and his love for personifications. Perhaps one may even consider the *Prosopographia* (issued around 1590) as a reflection of his religious opinions after 1585: a modestly Counter-Reformatorian tenor, represented by personifications of human virtues that still clearly reflect the christian humanism of his earlier work.

SAMENVATTING

In de laatste twee decennia is het onderzoek naar de geschiedenis van de Nederlandse grafiek van de zestiende en zeventiende eeuw uitgebreid met een nieuwe invalshoek: de rol van de prentuitgever. Naast de traditionele nadruk op de betekenis van de ontwerper van de compositie en de graveur of etser van de koperplaat, is aan de hand van verschillende studies steeds duidelijker geworden dat het vaak de uitgever is geweest die een cruciale rol heeft gespeeld in het ontstaan en de uitvoering van een prent of een prentreeks. Het is om die reden dat het onderzoek naar het uitgeversfonds van Philips Galle (Haarlem 1537 - Antwerpen 1612) ter hand is genomen.

Na een korte inleiding waarin de reputatie-geschiedenis van de prentkunstenaar behandeld wordt, geeft het eerste hoofdstuk een overzicht van leven en werk van Philips Galle, die met een totaal van meer dan 2500 uitgegeven bladen grafiek een van de grootste en meest invloedrijke prentuitgevers van zijn tijd is geweest. Deze in Haarlem geboren prentkunstenaar komt, na vermoedelijk door zijn oudere stadsgenoot Dirck Volckertsz. Coornhert in de graveerkunst onderwezen te zijn, vanaf 1557 te werken voor de Antwerpse uitgever Hieronymus Cock. Woonachtig in Haarlem, snijdt de jonge Galle voornamelijk composities van de hand van de, eveneens in Haarlem wonende schilder Maarten van Heemskerck in het koper. Galle's blijvende interesse in de moraliserende allegorie en humanistische toonzetting zal zeker door deze beide oudere collega's gestimuleerd zijn. Vanaf 1563 treedt Philips Galle als zelfstandig uitgever te Haarlem op. In samenwerking met Van Heemskerck als prentontwerper en de geleerde arts Hadrianus Junius als tekstdichter van de Latijnse onderschriften, geeft Galle tot 1570 in een gestaag tempo door hemzelf gegraveerde prentreeksen uit. Bij alle verscheidenheid in onderwerp en iconografische uitwerking is de essentie van de door dit drietal verzorgde uitgaven uitermate consistent: allegorisch uitgewerkte composities die, tegen een als Erasmiaans te karakteriseren humanistische achtergrond, de beschouwer een leidraad bieden voor het juiste menselijke handelen op aarde. Met name de invloed van Coornhert laat zich hier duidelijk bespeuren.

In 1570 vertrekt Galle naar Antwerpen. Deze stad is op dat moment het belangrijkste centrum voor de boekdrukkunst en voor de prentkunst, terwijl Philips Galle er door zijn vroegere werkzaamheden voor Hieronymus Cock ook al diverse contacten heeft. In 1570 sterft Cock, en al zou diens weduwe nog lange tijd de uitgeverij in afgeslankte vorm voortzetten, geeft dit Galle toch de ruimte zich te vestigen als de belangrijkste uitgever voor wat men in moderne termen het 'hogere marktsegment' zou kunnen noemen. De grafiek is gericht op een tamelijk geletterd deel van het publiek dat niet alleen belangstelling heeft voor de vaak complexe iconografie, maar ook het Latijn machtig is, de taal waarin Galle bij de meeste prenten zijn onderschriften laat afdrukken.

Net als Cock is Galle goed bevriend met de meest vooraanstaande geleerden van zijn tijd en neemt hij actief deel aan het artistieke leven in Antwerpen, bijvoorbeeld door bestuursfuncties te bekleden in het gilde van de schilders, het Sint Lukas-gilde. In samenwerking met vrienden als Benito Arias Montano, Abraham Ortels, Cornelis Kiliaan en Christophe Plantin geeft Galle vanaf 1571 een niet aflatende stroom prenten, prentseries en geïllustreerde boeken uit. De iconografie van

de grafiek blijft in essentie dezelfde als in de Haarlemse periode: ook nu weer moraliserende grafiek die dient tot voorbeeld en morele steun. De nadruk ligt hierbij steeds op de eigen ethische verantwoordelijkheid van de mens voor zijn aardse handelingen.

In de periode tot ongeveer 1578 lijken de door Galle uitgegeven religieuze prenten beïnvloed door de opvattingen van de geheimzinnige ondergrondse beweging van het *Huis der Liefde*, waarin de uitgever Christophe Plantin een sleutelrol vervulde. Met de laatste heeft Galle niet alleen regelmatig zakelijke contacten, maar hij behoort ook tot de vaste kern van diens huisvrienden. Tevens werkt Galle in de jaren zeventig intensief samen met de Spaanse theoloog Arias Montano en verzorgt met hem verschillende prentreeksen waarin Christus als levens-spiegel, ofwel als ethisch voorbeeld en als leidraad voor het levenspad wordt gepresenteerd. Juist dit thema komt keer op keer terug in de door Galle uitgegeven grafiek en lijkt met zijn persoonlijke geloofsbeleving samen te hangen. Galle - die zelf altijd katholiek is gebleven, zij het dat er in Antwerpen tot in de jaren negentig geruchten over zijn onorthodoxe geloofsbeleving de ronde deden - blijkt een duidelijke voorkeur te hebben gehad voor het doorlopend benadrukken van Christus als morele leidsman.

Naast deze karakteristieke 'intellectuele' grafiek komt in Antwerpen steeds meer het accent te liggen op een andere kant van de prentproduktie. Uit de veelzijdigheid van zijn fonds blijkt dat Galle een goed oog voor de commerciële aspecten van zijn vak heeft gehad en vanaf 1570 geeft hij steeds meer prenten uit die op andere kopers lijken te mikken, zoals: landkaarten, portretreeksen, ornamentprenten, landschappen en zelfs een boek met allerlei voorbeelden van kapsels. Vaak blijkt Galle met dergelijke uitgaven één van de eersten in de Nederlanden geweest te zijn. Zo brengt hij bijvoorbeeld als eerste een boek uit met anatomische teken-voorbeelden ten behoeve van kunstenaars. Ook ziet vanuit zijn atelier de eerste pocket-atlas het licht, namelijk een verkleinde uitgave van Ortels' *Theatrum orbis terrarum*; een project dat blijkens de vele edities in verschillende talen een succesvolle onderneming moet zijn geweest. Een andere, voor een prentuitgever wellicht meer verrassende onderneming, is een rijk geïllustreerde en inclusief alle teksten gegraveerde uitgave van een verhandeling over de kwadratuur van de cirkel van de Italiaanse wiskundigen Fabrizio en Gaspare Mordente uit 1591.

Deze diversificatie en het stijgend aantal uitgaven veranderen het karakter van Galle's uitgeverij in de periode na 1575 ingrijpend. Steeds meer concentreert hij zich op het uitgeven en wordt het eigenlijke graveerwerk overgelaten aan leerlingen en medewerkers uit zijn atelier, onder wie zijn twee getalenteerde zoons Theodoor en Cornelis en zijn twee graverende schoonzoons Adriaen Collaert en Karel de Mallery. Na in eerste instantie vooral met kunstenaars en geleerden uit Haarlem te hebben samengewerkt, richt Galle zich in de loop der jaren - wanneer de noordelijke en de zuidelijke Nederlanden duidelijk uiteen vallen - steeds meer op collega's en vrienden in Antwerpen. Van de vele ontwerpers die voor zijn atelier werken, zijn met name Maarten de Vos en Johannes Stradanus belangrijk. Vanaf 1574 tot diep in de jaren '90 leveren deze twee schilders honderden ontwerpen voor prenten en prentreeksen aan.

Kenmerkend voor de productie van zijn atelier is dat Philips Galle alles zoveel mogelijk in eigen hand houdt. Zijn uitgaven zijn slechts zelden herdrukken van andermans materiaal, meestal gaat het om projecten waartoe Galle zelf het initiatief neemt, vervolgens tekeningen en teksten laat aanleveren, en de prenten uiteindelijk ook in eigen beheer in de plaat laat snijden en afdrukken. Wel blijkt uit de Plantijnse archieven dat deze firma geregeld partijen grafiek van Galle koopt en

die vervolgens verspreidt in het buitenland. De prentkunstenaar verspreidt zelf zijn uitgaven ook internationaal, ondermeer door gebruik te maken van de Frankfurter Buchmesse. Uit archieven van de Plantijnse uitgeverij blijkt dat Galle regelmatig met boekdrukkers samenwerkt, waarbij het zetten en drukken van teksten in boekdruk doorgaans wordt uitbesteed. Bij omvangrijke publicaties wordt ook wel voor een gezamenlijke uitgave gekozen, waarbij Galle overigens zijn zelfstandige positie als uitgever steeds zorgvuldig handhaaft.

Halverwege de jaren tachtig begint opvallenderwijs het repertoire van de door Galle uitgegeven grafiek te veranderen. Steeds meer komt in het fonds de nadruk te liggen op de dogmatische katholieke iconografie. Dit alles geheel in de geest van de contra-reformatie, die immers in Antwerpen pas goed op gang gekomen is na de inname van de stad in 1585 door de Spanjaarden. De algemene morele instructie van de eerdere grafiek, waarin, zoals gezegd, ethiek en persoonlijke geloofsbeleving centraal stond, wordt nu grotendeels verlaten en daarvoor in de plaats geeft Galle gravures uit die op een nadrukkelijke manier de belangrijkste dogma's van de katholieke kerk bevestigen en uitdragen. Zowel de iconografie als het taalgebruik zijn in veel gevallen eenvoudiger en eenduidiger dan in de prenten uit de jaren zestig en zeventig, al zal Galle zijn voorkeur voor de allegorie nooit verliezen. Opvallend is bovendien dat Galle regelmatig samenwerkt met de Jezuïeten en de Franciscanen in zijn woonplaats.

Na 1600 nemen de activiteiten van Galle aanzienlijk af. Er verschijnen tot 1606 nog enkele prentboeken onder zijn naam, maar in praktijk blijkt de uitgeverij overgenomen te zijn door zijn oudste zoon Theodoor Galle, die het bedrijf voortzet tot zijn dood in 1633. Onder diens leiding komt het accent nog meer dan voorheen op de didactische, religieuze grafiek te liggen. Anders dan zijn vader neemt Theodoor minder vaak het initiatief tot nieuwe, grote uitgaven in eigen beheer. Hij verzorgt vrijwel ongewijzigde heruitgaven van zijn vaders prenten, koopt koperplaten op uit andere ateliers om opnieuw uit te geven en werkt daarnaast intensief samen met de beroemde uitgeverij van zijn schoonvader Jan Moretus. De zelfstandige positie die Philips Galle voor ogen stond, blijkt zijn zoon duidelijk niet meer aan te spreken. Het atelier wordt na 1600 meer en meer een toeleverancier van prenten voor de enorme stroom van bijbels, missalen en andere religieuze boeken, die bij het Plantijnse Huis verschijnen. Met zulke grafiek, gecombineerd met een groot aantal heruitgaven van ouder materiaal zal het geslacht Galle overigens nog tot in de laatste decennia van de eeuw een vooraanstaande rol spelen in de Antwerpse prentproduktie. Zo trof men bijvoorbeeld in 1676 na de dood van Galle's kleinzoon Johannes maar liefst 82.000 prenten en koperplaten in diens nalatenschap aan. De bijlagen 1A tot 1C, geven, tenslotte, een genealogisch overzicht van alle relevante leden van het geslacht Galle vanaf de late vijftiende eeuw tot en met het derde kwart van de zeventiende eeuw.

Tegen deze achtergrond belichten de drie volgende hoofdstukken verschillende aspecten van het fonds van Philips Galle meer in detail. Hoofdstuk twee laat uitvoerig zien hoe de uitgever tussen 1567 en 1606 in zeven edities en in steeds wisselende samenstellingen vier-reeksen portretten van eigentijdse geleerden uitgeeft. Tegelijkertijd met de Italiaanse uitgever Antonio Lafreri introduceert Galle dit, naar al snel blijkt uiterst populaire onderwerp in de prentkunst. Het zijn overigens niet alleen portretten van geleerden die Galle het licht laat zien, ook pausen, kardinalen en beroemde jezuïeten worden in het koper vereeuwigd. Karakteristiek is dat in de loop van veertig jaar een in

oorsprong breed opgezet humanistisch pantheon van de belangrijkste schrijvers en geleerden langzamerhand verandert in een parade van (katholieke) theologen en prelaten, wier orthodoxie belangrijker lijkt dan hun faam als geleerde. In een negental uitgebreide bijlagen worden alle belangrijke portretseries beschreven, waarbij ook de afzonderlijke portretten gecatalogiseerd zijn.

Het derde hoofdstuk heeft de ontstaansgeschiedenis van een in 1589 uitgegeven anatomisch tekenboek tot onderwerp. Deze uitgave is nadrukkelijk bedoeld als leerboek voor jonge en onervaren kunstenaars en is daarmee het eerste in zijn soort in de Nederlanden. De belangstelling van kunstenaars voor een correcte anatomie is niet nieuw en heeft zijn wortels in de Italiaanse kunst van de vijftiende en zestiende eeuw. De uitgave van dit tekenboek is zeker geen incident in het fonds van Philips Galle. Met name in de jaren '80 verzorgt hij verschillende prentreeksen met naakte goden, godinnen en nimfen. Deze uitgaven waren bedoeld als anatomische voorbeelden en als iconografische exempla, die kunstenaars en kunstnijverheidswerkers van een 'thesaurus' van bruikbare modellen moest voorzien. De meest belangrijke, besproken series zijn in een zestal appendices gecatalogiseerd.

Het vierde en meest uitgebreide hoofdstuk behandelt de religieuze uitgaven van Philips Galle, een deel van het fonds dat zeker de helft van alle prenten omvat. Hierbij wordt het belang van de religieuze thematiek besproken en worden de inhoudelijke verschuivingen daarin tussen 1563 en 1600 chronologisch behandeld. Aan de hand van uitvoerige analyses van afzonderlijke prenten, prentreeksen en geïllustreerde boeken wordt betoogd dat, in navolging van wat in het eerste hoofdstuk al gesteld is, de nadruk in het fonds van Galle verschuift van christelijk-humanistisch tot uitgesproken contra-reformatorisch. Het is niet verwonderlijk dat hierbij 1585, het jaar waarin Alessandro Farnese Antwerpen inneemt en het gezag van de Spaanse koning en de Roomse Kerk herstelt, het omslagpunt blijkt te zijn geweest.